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CONT. PHOTOGRAPHY ON CASES INVOLVING...

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**28** Jean Chrétien conferred with Bill Clinton after the U.S. President won House support for tariffs, opening the way for Mexico to join their countries in free trade. The first meeting between Canada's new Prime Minister and the President took place at a summit on trans-Pacific co-operation, underlining commitments to broaden their foreign connections.



**38** Ottawa will soon release the report of the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies, which examines whether Canadian society should set limits on man's ability to play God in creating human life.



**20** Seeking a resolution to years of sectarian violence, British Prime Minister John Major has ordered a new drive for peace in Northern Ireland. The hardest part may be to overcome the fears of Protestant loyalists, who regard any sign of compromise with the Catholic minority as an act of betrayal.



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# LETTERS

## University grades

My congratulations on your third annual ranking of Canadian universities. P.A. measure of excellence? Cover, Nov. 10. It makes a real contribution to understanding better performance. I have only one minor quibble—too many of the "distinguished" schools you listed for each university were politicians. Bear in mind the words of the historian Paul Johnson—The great human struggle of the 20th century: the professional politician.

Joe Morley,  
Toronto

I went to high-ranking McGill University and hated it. I went to low-ranking Concordia University and loved it. Why? Staff and administration went out of their way to let me, and their excellent computer science program prepared me well. So, students, meet the faculty. Talk to students. Focus on the program that you are interested in. Then forget about what everybody else has to say.

Bernard Rabl,  
Toronto

How can you possibly expect Catholics to trust a survey that doesn't have Queen's University as No. 1?

Mike van de Water,  
Scarborough, Ont.

For several weeks, you have run letters about the in the Randy Jorgensen "Killing of sport" issue (Oct. 31) that in the newspaper issue (Nov. 10) "The job report" about the deaths who go to campus bars, many of whom drink to excess. It is unlikely that those who kill you will ever respond with indignation about alcohol as the prime evil of our society. To them, the slaughter on the highways and abuse at the houses are secondary to the evils of those who enjoy adult films in the privacy of their homes.

J. Paul Sater,  
London, Ont.

## Generous spirit

We were delighted to see the great cover page Michelle Wright received in the Nov. 8 issue ("The Century Cross" cover). However, it is disappointing that you did not discover the true depth of community spirit that bubbles from this remarkable generous person. Since March of this year, Michelle has been the honorary chairman of a commu-



Saint Mary's University in Halifax ranking stimulates better performance

nity effort to raise \$1.5 million to provide a CT Scanner for this community. She appeared in our promotional video and spent an entire day at a community lunch with 100 lucky lottery winners. Later, she performed two sold-out shows and attended a midnight reception, signing more autographs and posing for more pictures. We in Saint Mary's are extremely proud of her and thank her for her wonderful community spirit.

Debraur Dink,  
St. Joseph's Hospital Foundation,  
Halifax, Ont.

## Uncivilized civics

Charles Gordon asserts that "the schools could do a better job of teaching young people what kind of political society they live in" ("The positive side of the politics of rage," Another View, Nov. 8). But this job can't be done in the low-costing atmosphere of many of our classrooms. I once tried to teach about the Holocaust to some mainstream Grade 12s. They had never heard of it and didn't want to know. What can you do with people to whom 10,000 Mexicans and Mayanists are rich bands? Their lives are filled up with senseless distractions and attractive sensations. Classroom order is a music mix of arrogance and apathy. Wisdom and grace give way to attitude and rage. With this atmosphere of civil unrest, and the most uncivil, Charles Gordon can't depend on the schools to teach civics.

Jim Lefterakis,  
Pidgeon Cove, Ont.

I am in complete agreement with Charles Gordon. Curricular experts throw out the teaching of civics and relegated history lessons to an obscure subject budgeted called social studies. Perhaps it's time to reintroduce subjects that might restore some neglected values, such as prairie pride in being distinctly Canadian and to our basic philosophy of government.

Ray Lawrence,  
Saskatoon

## Passage of time

In Peter C. Newman's column "Will the 21st Century belong to Joan Cleverton?" (Nov. 8), he writes that "he can take a bow on Dec. 31, 1993." I don't know about Newman's reckoning but the 20th century will end on Dec. 31, 2000 and Peter can wish Joan a Happy New Century on Jan. 1, 2001.

John R. Kemp,  
Laguna Hills, Ala.

## Minimum wage

The article on Mitchell Sharp's post with the Chrétien government ("Ottawa's odd couple," Canada Nov. 24) referred to the 10 km salary and to 200 successful businessmen who served the federal government during the Second World War. Not only businessmen served in this way. My father was an officer of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Union and was also a dollar a year man.

Richard Doyle,  
London, Ont.

Letters may be condensed. Please include name, address and daytime telephone. Write to: Editor, Starline's Executive, Starline Station Box 100, Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7. Or by fax: (416) 591-7000.

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## LETTERS

printed a critical notice in the federal government where she held the portfolios of secretary of state, immigration and postmaster general in the Diefenbaker era. Of course, there are now many other women in politics that one might name, but I consider this a glaring omission.

Anne Simon,  
Windsor, Ont.

## False equation

The fact that you chose to equate, by the use of your double cover, the winning of a baseball championship by a group of foreign millionaires to an event that may have forever altered the political landscape and the shape and nature of Canada causes me to seriously question your judgement and perspective.

Prof. Richard Long  
Commerce Department  
University of Saskatchewan,  
Saskatoon

Joe Carter's dramatic home run will be forever enshrined in Canadian sporting history surpassed only by Paul Henselment's goal against the Soviets in 1972. Nevertheless, both events provided the same result: great Canadians from coast to coast.

Thay Caravella  
Geoffrey, Ont.

## Avenging a son

Under Canada Notes (Nov. 1), I was struck by the item under the headline "Vengeful father sentenced." Of all only of the school principal was guilty of sexual assault, the law, in punishing the father of the Heynald boy for attacking the molester was so. When will we as a society learn that this type of behavior by any adult person, let alone a principal, is absolutely unacceptable. When will we learn that any respectable father would quite probably take such action to protect his son?

Julius Ravitzky  
Calmar, Ala.

## 'Just get even'

My report that I've just another pathologist who has left crime stage and left by "Maggie's sisters" (Opinion: Notes Oct. 26). She has passed the long list of authors who practice "Just get even" and get even. She has written a book and made money.

Paul Miller,  
Dunsmuir, Ont.



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# Family Violence

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*There are no prison walls so thick, no confinements so solitary as those created by family violence. It destroys more lives than heart disease, cancer, automobile accidents or AIDS.*

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Canada's national news magazine

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# OPENING NOTES

## FRESH AIR ON BAY STREET

Two weeks after Ed Watney took over as chairman of the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC), it approved a proposal that called for Bay Street investment dealer Gordon Capital Corp. to pay \$6 million to the Canadian Investor Protection Fund for Gordon's involvement in its complex bond trading scheme that collapsed in June, 1991. That was the largest financial penalty ever imposed by the province's securities



What's in a deficit projection? A lot of useful thinking, it seems. The first tally for the 1993-1992 federal deficit came in last week at \$40.5 billion—60 billion more than then-Finance Minister Don Mazankowski had announced in presenting the current-year budget 2½ weeks after the March 31 close of the 1992-1993 year. But a scribbling of Mazankowski's projections during his tenure as finance minister under Brian Mulroney demonstrates a fiscal part of life: the deficit is an unpredictable beast.

"Canadians want to cut the deficit," they went government to adjust to the same budget realities that homebodies and businesses must face every day. We will hold the deficit to \$11.4 billion at the 1996-1992 fiscal year. We

will reduce it by almost \$4 billion to \$27.5 billion in 1997-1998."

—Feb. 26, 1992, in Mazankowski's first budget speech. His predecessor, Michael Wilson, had predicted a deficit of \$30.5 billion in 1991-1992, \$10 billion in 1992-1993.

"We have to keep spending on line with our resources. When our credit card bills get too high, we have to cut back on our current spending." —The *As*

how I have increased today will bring the estimated deficit down to \$14.4 billion this year."  
—Mazankowski in his Dec. 2, 1992, economic and fiscal statement, raising the 1990-1991 deficit projection by \$5.5 billion from February

"Canadians are justified in their concern. They know that a household can't keep running up credit card bills and borrowing to pay interest. Similarly, the lower than expected revenues have brought the deficit for 1992-1993 to \$35.5 billion, \$1.5 billion higher than

forecast in December. I am disappointed by this setback. We have, however, taken correct action.... Let there be no doubt, good fiscal policy in good economic policy."

—April 29, 1992, in his last budget



Watney: conservative shuffling

disc industry watchdog—and a mainstay for the new OSC under Watney, who at 39 is the first fully licensed to hold the chairman's office. Watney has an audibly background for a securities regulator. As a youth he started in such common culture industries as publishing a science-fiction lending library and setting up a free school called "8050," for students who were dissatisfied with the established school system. "I only decided to go to law school because I didn't want to become a civil servant like all my friends," said Watney. "I had no intention of practicing law and I wasn't interested in the securities industry." But the Establishment beckoned: after his law exams, Watney took a job at the Toronto Stock Exchange in 1977. For the past 12 years, he has pursued securities law at the peripatetic law Street firm of Sullivan, O'Brien—and now, as OSC chairman, he is a civil servant. Goals that sound on paper, nonetheless, don't add up for his traditional law servant.

## WORD FOR WORD

### A billion here, a billion there

## BEST-SELLERS

### FICTHON

1. *The Bridges of Madison County*, Robert Waller
2. *The Red Rover*, Margaret Atwood
3. *The Stone Circle*, David Shields
4. *Point of View*, John Grisham
5. *Now Write in Colour*, Robert Waller
6. *The Stone Circle*, David Shields
7. *The Gravel Road*, Robert Waller
8. *The Gravel Road*, Robert Waller
9. *The Gravel Road*, Robert Waller
10. *The Gravel Road*, Robert Waller

J. J. Peters list and  
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### NONFICTION

1. *Manhattan*, Peter Dinklage
2. *The Downing Street Years*, Margaret Thatcher
3. *A Life in Progress*, David Shields
4. *Stranger Than Paradise*, Robert Waller
5. *Stranger Than Paradise*, Robert Waller
6. *Stranger Than Paradise*, Robert Waller
7. *Stranger Than Paradise*, Robert Waller
8. *Stranger Than Paradise*, Robert Waller
9. *Stranger Than Paradise*, Robert Waller
10. *The Right to Life*, David Shields



Moscow police searching a drug dealer; crime rates up 62 per cent

## If only Esperanto had caught on

Strong Red Square for the first time is an unforgettable experience, but so is getting mugged in the mean streets of Moscow. This year many foreigners are getting to experience both. Crime rates are soaring in the Russian capital—up 42 percent from last year—and foreigners have been victims in 3,204 crimes in the first nine months of 1993, up from 620 in 1992. That's a scary record, the police say, but not nearly Moscow's underdog and poorly equipped force: scores less than half of all reported crimes, and only 38 per cent of those involving foreign victims. In a bid to change to strengthen Russian law, Moscow police have recently released *Tips for Foreigners* (Temporarily Forgetting Russian). A handbook that warns tourists not to be too trusting of people they meet—nor associate with prostitutes, buyers of stolen goods and other criminals. But there are serious defects in this otherwise well-intentioned program: the pamphlet is only available in Russian, and police have no plans to translate it into other languages. Victims in Moscow would be well advised to walk solo—and carry a big Russian phrase book.

## Auto cleanliness by decree

Auto owners in the Chinese city of Guangzhou are being told to clean their cars. The municipal government and the Guangzhou-based agency, a Chinese automobile company, have formed a \$200 million joint-venture service station company, which plans to open 100 facilities around Guangzhou. The new stations will include gasoline pumps, repair facilities and car washes—

old hat to Canadians, but all badly needed services in the booming capital of Guangdong province, the shanghaied of China's recent relations with capitalism. And city officials are ensuring that the services will get used. They are drafting a law requiring that all vehicles entering the city first submit to a washing. Guangzhou is notorious for its high level of industrial pollution, and city officials, claiming that the major pollutant is "dust from the countryside," argue that the new law will help clear the air. But mandatory cleaning of all these cars should also add up to the joint venture's bottom line.

## PASSAGES

**SHOOTING:** Long listed as a body runner-shop owner, Joey Battalione, 37, is in court on a \$60,000 fine—the most recent permissible sentence—after pleading guilty to statutory rape, by Nassau County court Judge Jack MacLennan in Mineola, N.Y. After earlier threats, Battalione is hospitalized as part of a plea bargain in October that he had slept with Amy Fisher, 23, when she was 16, one year under New York state's consent. Fisher, now serving a five-year to 15-year jail sentence for shooting Battalione's wife, Mary Jo, told the court in a victim impact statement that Battalione was involved in a world of "negative relationships and cheap booze." Their affair has been the subject of three made-for-TV movies and two books.

**DRUG:** Longtime Quebec Liberal cabinet minister Gérard Lussier, 57, after a three-year battle with colon cancer, is in Quebec City hospital. The longest-serving member of the provincial parliament, Lussier was first elected in 1985, re-elected nine times, and was minister of Finance from 1985 until resigning last month.

**OVERSEEN:** A 1986 U.S. extradition order that resulted in the deportation to Israel of *Adnan Darwish*, 34, now lives in Israel. The "Terrorist" he helped guard at the Tel Aviv death camp in German-occupied Poland during the Second World War. A U.S. federal appeals court found that the justice department had fraudulently withheld evidence that supported Darwish's claim that he was a victim of mistaken identity. In fact, the newspaper was sentenced to death for committing the crimes attributed to him, but then died rather than sue and returned to the United States on the same grounds of mistaken identity.

**AWARDED:** To become CLU (Life Tenor) Award, \$5.6 million for his 30-year career in insurance, as a 1988 car accident, by Ontario Court Justice Paul Dillon in Toronto. Bessie's uncle in work since the accident, suffered a severe loss of memory from which he has not fully recovered.

**REMOVED:** Controversial CBC vice-president Ivan Foss, 40, to pursue other opportunities. While in charge of English TV programming, Foss engineered a broad program re-vamping that included the abolition of *The Journal* and moving the nightly news to 9 p.m. three 10 p.m.

## POP MOVIES

Top-grossers in Canada, ranked according to box-office receipts during the seven days that ended on Nov. 18 (in brackets, number of screens/theater showing)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>The Three Musketeers</i> (R) (17).....\$24,774     | 6. <i>The Beverly Hills Cop</i> (R).....\$24,774   |
| 2. <i>Death Wish</i> (G) (12).....\$24,774               | 7. <i>Look Who's Talking Now</i> (G).....\$24,774  |
| 3. <i>My Life</i> (R) (11).....\$24,774                  | 8. <i>The Remains of the Day</i> (R).....\$24,774  |
| 4. <i>The Nightman Before Christmas</i> (G).....\$24,774 | 9. <i>The Remains of the Day</i> (R).....\$24,774  |
| 5. <i>Cost of Living</i> (G) (10).....\$24,774           | 10. <i>The Remains of the Day</i> (R).....\$24,774 |

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## AN AMERICAN VIEW



# Women easy winners in battle of the sexes

BY FRED BRUNING

**N**egotiations between the sexes often are as tedious as chess involving labor and management when the roller rink low and strike deadline approaches. Each side appeals to the other as though lately arrived from a planet as which stubbornness and stupidity are excelled and where insight and sensitivity surely must be possible by life in the intergalactic club, else why would such matters be sent on so important a mission?

A writer in New York City recalls an encounter with a woman he met at a party one summer. The two made plans for the next day and spent a reasonably pleasant hour chatting and getting better acquainted. Come time for the bill, and the gentleman asked if he could treat his guest.

"Most certainly you can," said the woman in a manner that suggested she wrote trouble lay ahead. "You wanted me to break a defect?"

"Well, I've given considerable to making sure," he explained. "These women find it, because of a man makes for the check."

"But you invited me," his date and man, her expression causing the writer deep on com.

"Don't be upset," he replied. "I'd be delighted to pay."

The woman, who happened to be a gay cheerleader, only grew more malignant. "I see this all the time," she said. "Angry men, unable to give."

"No, you don't understand," objected the writer. "Please pay your money now."

It was too late for civility, however, perhaps decades too late. The woman threw a 10-spot on the table and prepared to leave. "I suppose this means we won't see each other again," said the writer—a reasonable lady who never has been heading for the door.

Quickly married now the someone else, the fellow still looks slightly prepared when

*Men are inclined to be stubborn and assertive and eager to express themselves on subjects about which they know nothing*

he finishes his story—as though he has yet to determine exactly what went wrong. Who can blame him? His sincere intubate with the therapist reflected a nighty lunch over the past quarter-century in the role and status of American women and, accordingly, the attempt by men—some very at least—to keep pace with the emerging order. Needless to say the campaign goes poorly.

Here, it may be well to acknowledge that men are not necessarily the most embracing branch of the species. They are inclined to be stubborn and assertive and eager to express themselves on subjects about which they know nothing. They adore power but use it poorly, often to the disadvantage of everyone—including themselves. There is a certain advanced quality to many fellows that is less than charming and, of course, men are the ones who leave millions of shouting women and whippers in the wake.

Sad but true, men's mood coast among their number. Jerry Bruckheimer, who after much righteous denial admitted that he had sex with Amy Fisher when the so-called Long Island Lolita was 16. (This is itself does not exist, but Jerry that Bruckheimer's wife in the head, but that is another matter.) The

involvement in Virginia admitted of having herself on his wife surely is a fondness fact if her story happens to be true, and an embarrassment to the cause of male enlightenment. (The writer demands to apply a kitchen sink to her sleeping husband's responses, sure will be admitted in the courts. Though a New York psychologist said in a radio interview that many women have negotiation histories centered in the male physiology—arms that could prompt lack in the negotiation area to begin slumbering on their stomachs.)

(Add to this lengthy list of particulars that men exhibit the traits of open which-sher-ing football season and generally refuse to attend movies with subtitles, and you have what may strike some as an unimpeachably sad assortment of human beings. Even when wanting to be politically correct, men make cigarettes smokers in dealings with women, and, as so often as not, demonstrate endlessly that, they just don't get it—"I" so poorly pertaining to even the most kind and comprehension of what women can deliver civilized behavior.

So it is not surprising that the counterpart of males now is being enthusiastically celebrated coast to coast—that women are seizing the opportunity to inform the deops in the auto shop and docks in the bedrooms that they have failed miserably to achieve full evolutionary fitness. One book by publisher Cindy Gerner is called *It's Always the Men's Fault*. (How does a man help with homework, she writes. "Lifting his legs so you can vacuum.") Gerner knows she had a star lost after her first effort sold 250,000 copies. Titled *Everything Men Know About Women* (1 continued 128 blank pages).

On television and in the movies, the theme is all repeated. Men—all men, all ages—need to be tamed. They are slow learners, so the catchword must be taught again and again. At Antioch College, the revised Ohio Liberal arts institutions, a code of conduct clearly aimed at males dictates dating behavior. Upon reaching each 'new level of sexual contact,' a partner must request permission to proceed. (Honest? Sorry? Understood? Resistant?) Failure to comply can mean dismissal. Date rape is a real problem on America's campuses, but is a crime course in reducing the way to solve it? That's the deal though. Lured by men, reduced measures.

"Male leading is everywhere," author Warren Farrell recently told David Belmont of *Newsday*. Farrell, who wrote *The Myth of Male Power*, says it would be a mistake to view the current situation as simply another skirmish in the war between the sexes. "Not with only one side showing up. Women have been doing the shooting and men have been buying their heads in the sand, begging the bullets will stop."

Even a Farrell is correct: men probably do not deserve a break. They have ruled the world and made an absolute mess of things. They have exploited, they have belittled, they have courted with flattery. Keep bringing their heads in the sand, keep your selves covered. This could last a while.

# A COMMUNITY IN FEAR

## GAYS IN MONTREAL LIVE WITH VIOLENCE

By all accounts, he was a cultivated, caring man, openly suited to serve as pastor of St. James the Apostle Anglican Church in Montreal's upper-middle Westmount district. But Warren Irving may have led another life outside the church—and it could have cost him dearly. Earlier this month, a group of Pingué parishioners, worried about his unexplained absence, stumbled upon the 55-year-old cleric's dead body in the bedroom of the elegant townhouse where he lived. He was nearly naked. His hands were tied behind his head and fastened to the bed. A leather belt was tightly bound around his neck. Robbery is still officially listed as the reason for the crime, but Montreal police concede the probability that Elgys' death was sex-related—the latest in a long string of homosexual assaults in Quebec's largest city.

At least 14 others have been slain in Montreal in the past four years in crimes apparently aimed at homosexuals. At Most Like Drug, home of violence in the privacy of their homes, the victims of murders, may, judging by the evidence, were freely admitted. Elgys himself did not publicly talk about his sexuality, but many of his parishioners say they suspected that he was gay. "There's been the same recurring pattern in almost all of these killings," says Pierre Sengallo, director of the Montreal Urban Community Police Department's major crimes unit. "I think it's fair to say that gay people are, in certain circumstances, being targeted." According to Sengallo and other senior police officers, the prime targets are

gay men who seek brief sexual relationships with strangers, whom they often meet in bars in the city's east-end Gay Village. But in the view of spokesmen for Montreal's homosexual community, one of the largest and most violent in the country, the problem is more profound. "There's a lot of homophobia out there," claims Douglas Buckley of Montreal's Committee of Gays and Lesbians Against Violence. "All these murders are the result."

Despite the differing interpretations, both Buckley and Sengallo agree that Montreal's otherwise free-spirited gay subculture is under threat. Both testified to that last week as a consensus of the Quebec Human Rights Commission convened what its organizers believed was Canada's first public inquiry into discrimination and violence against gays and lesbians. Designed to spark public debate on what commentators considered what its organizers believed was Canada's first public inquiry into discrimination and violence against gays and lesbians. Designed to spark public debate on what commentators considered what its organizers believed was Canada's first public inquiry into discrimination and violence against gays and lesbians.

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men, married and better ones, ranging from workplace discrimination to the lack of adequate health care for people with AIDS. But not even the most moderate brief failed to at least touch upon the violence that has overtaken the community.

In the new map of Montreal's gays, some person or persons unknown is stalking and killing male homosexuals. "The manner in which all of these people have met their deaths is chillingly similar," argues Roger



Funeral service for Elgys, a cultural and caring man.

Leves, another member of the Committee of Lesbians and Gays Against Violence. For a time, during the months of 1990, even the Montreal police suspected that a serial killer might be at large. But that theory has now been abandoned. Sengallo's unit, which investigates all violent crimes on the island of Montreal, has found that perpetrators from the various murders do not match, nor does any of the other material evidence that might establish a link among the crimes. To be certain, Montreal police chief and RCMP experts who had investigated other sexual killings in the Montreal area came up with nothing

"At this point, we do not have a single shred of evidence to suggest that a serial killer is at work," argues Sengallo.

The few murders that have been resolved tend to support the police view. At the moment, five of the 14 killings have been resolved. Teenage students were found guilty of beating to death 19-year-old Montrealer Vincent Lussier, who had been gay for a year ago in a suburban park frequented by gay men in search of a liaison. Sengallo, teenage boys were also charged in the death last December of schoolteacher Daniel Lacaille, 37, who had stopped to use

a washroom in a roadside rest area in Laval that happened to be a spot for cruising spots for homosexual encounters. In the other deaths, most of the victims appear to have been lured and robbed after being picked up in late night bars in Montreal's Gay Village. "They've been easy targets," says Sengallo. "Just like a woman as a single woman would be who goes home with some guy she meets in a bar and doesn't know very well."

That argument infuriates some Montreal gays who clearly resent the ability of the police to investigate gay-related crimes. "Sengallo's just blaming the victim," claims Buckley. "He's saying as if that we go to a gay bar, we deserve to be killed." Echoing the view of other gay spokesmen, Buckley demanded a correct a request into the 14 murders to investigate the possibility of a connection among them.

Whatever the accuracy of that judgment, it is true that many gays in Montreal are targets of widespread suspicion that can often spiral into violence. Alex Schmidt, the 30-year-old manager of a popular restaurant in the Gay Village, last week recalled being wounded as he walked home from work in the early hours last spring in an attack that he believes came about because he is gay. "I was walking on foot of a Metro station when I passed three youths in their late teens," he said, describing the three as "reprehensible looking young men." Moments later, the youth grabbed him by the neck and swung off his back into a lamp post, knocking him unconscious. Schmidt awoke, nose broken. 10 minutes later in the lack of an ambulance, "It was totally unexpected," he said, rubbing his still healing nose. "You get used to being harassed by young cars when you walk down a street in the village, but you don't expect to be beaten up."

For Elgys, his murder on Nov. 8 remains a mystery. On Nov. 10, a police in Verdun recovered the car that was stolen from his Westmount home. But by late last week they were no closer to solving the crime. Nor is anyone who knew the pastor certain of the motive. Montreal's Anglican bishop, Andrew Hutchison, urged the police to uncover a sexual motive, as they use to solve the speculation is correct that this crime is some way related to sexual orientation, then we are doubly satisfied," Bishop Hutchison said. "For a nation of it can suggest a violent crime but one motivated by hatred."

BARRY CARME with SHAM MAHTEW in Montreal

## Canada Notes

### THE DEFICIT WHIFFER

Finance Minister Paul Martin announced that the federal deficit for 1992-1993 will be \$40.5 billion, up from the \$23.5 billion projected by the former Conservative government in April. Although he said the nation's fiscal health is "not as bad as it once was," Martin declined to give details on how he plans to reduce the deficit while keeping the Liberal campaign promise to promote job creation.

### THE BATTERED BODIES

Placed with a net debt of at least \$3 million following its disastrous defeat in October's federal election, the federal Progressive Conservative Party shut down its four regional offices across Canada and reduced staff at its Ottawa headquarters to about a dozen full-time workers, days from some more than 100 employed before the election.

### BACK TO BASICS

Responding to widespread public opposition to recent educational reforms, B.C. Education Minister Art Charbonneau announced that better marks will be brought back in Grades 6 to 7, replacing the stretched report cards that had angered and confused many parents. The province is also taking primary school education to place increased emphasis on basic subjects such as reading, writing and arithmetic and to report annually on the performance of its students and schools.

### CUTTING POLITICAL BILLS

Representatives of Canada's largest union voted to sever all ties with Ontario Progressives. Both the NDP and the Ontario Progressive Party are critical of the social contract legislation, which overruled collective agreements. The 500,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees also voted earlier that it will no longer provide unconditional support to the NDP in any part of Canada.

### NON-TO SEPARATION

An opinion poll conducted for The Montreal Star Magazine indicates that Quebecers would vote by a 60-40 margin to remain part of Canada in a referendum on Quebec's separation. Francophones in the survey of 541 adult Quebecers conducted successfully after the Oct. 25 federal election, opposed the separation option by a 47-53 margin, while English-speaking Quebecers would vote by a narrow 55 percent to stay within Canada.

# 'Sovereignists pay taxes, too'

*Blair Gresham: Leader Lucien Bouchard will take his seat as Leader of the Opposition when Parliament gets back to work on June 17. Last week, he talked about his priorities, and his family, with Maclean's Ottawa Correspondent Nancy Ward in his Montreal office. Excerpt*

**Maclean's:** Will you actively campaign for the new Quebecs in the next Quebec election?

**Bouchard:** Yes. We will certainly support the Parti Quebecois in its efforts to form the next government.

**Maclean's:** The Bloc received less than half the popular vote in Quebec (49.5 per cent)—and some of that vote was a protest against traditional parties. So what makes you think that more than half of Quebecers will vote for sovereignty in any new referendum?

**Bouchard:** There were a lot of sovereignists who did not vote for the Bloc because they do not believe that independence will be achieved in the House of Commons in Ottawa. There were sovereignists who were afraid that sovereignty talks in Ottawa might get too comfortable there and make some kind of last-ditch deal right to get independence to work. All of that is to say that some federalists voted for us and ran all sovereignists

off. Also, don't forget that the vote was split three ways in Quebec—Conservatives, Liberals and the Bloc. In a referendum, it would be a single binary split. Yes or No. Maclean's: Is it right for a separatist party to counter allegiance to the Queen, take federal funds and go to Ottawa with the express purpose of extracting Quebec from Canada?

**Bouchard:** Quebec sovereignists pay taxes, too. That these people be represented in Ottawa is natural and legitimate. What was wrong was that they were not represented in Ottawa in the past. For two decades, those people paid money to Ottawa and got, in return, federalist propaganda. As for allegiance to the Queen, you are not swearing allegiance to her as a person, or to the Windsor dynasty; you are swearing allegiance to the legal constitution. We plan to have laws within the rules of the present system as long as we remain a part of it.

**Maclean's:** Who will you appoint as leader of the Opposition in the Senate?

**Bouchard:** I don't know who will be the leader of the Opposition in the Senate, but it is certainly not I who will appoint the person. We have constitutional advisors who tell me I could appoint the Opposition leader in the Senate. But I do not want to do it. I will not do it. I denigrate myself entirely from the Senate. I think of it only as something to be abolished.

**Maclean's:** There seem to be enmities between the Bloc and Reform over the jurisdiction of the Opposition. Preston Manning told Maclean's that he should have the right to ask the first question in Quebec Pressed on alternate days.

**Bouchard:** Who do those differences think they are? Either they are or they are not the official Opposition. If we had not become the official Opposition, we would not have demanded the right to ask the first question in Question Period. We wouldn't have tried to get better offices. I am the Leader of the Opposition and I will act as such. I will ask the first question every day.



Bouchard with Audrey: children will be Americans

**Maclean's:** What do you think of English-Canadians?

**Bouchard:** I do not think ill of English-Canadians. I do not know them at all really until about five years ago. When I was a columnist (in the Mulroney government), I did a lot of travelling in English Canada. I

met a lot of people. I found there were very few differences between them and Quebecers in daily life. Their priorities are jobs, family, social (it's not the hope that their children will have a better world).

**Maclean's:** If we have as much as common, why does Quebec need to separate?

**Bouchard:** Because they consider us as and because they have a different collective vision.

**Maclean's:** Are Americans different from English-Canadians?

**Bouchard:** Obviously. I married an American. She married me. I'm an American. I do not think ill of Americans. I think Americans are very independent and like Quebecers they don't see the sense in having a British Queen. We

have nothing against the Queen, Elizabeth II is a remarkable woman, but I think Quebecers are more like the Americans, more republican than English-Canadians. In common terms, Americans have a individualism, every man for himself. What I love about Americans is their sense of clarity.

They are more relaxed than English-Canadians. On the other hand, Canadian society seems more compassionate. On the issue of the welfare state, Quebecers are probably closer to English-Canadians in belief.

**Maclean's:** I understand it was late at first night when you met your wife. Did you find it strange to be falling in love with an American?

**Bouchard:** No. But she is half French. Her mother is French. It was no coincidence that we met in Florida. Her grandmother lives in Paris. The two cultures in her really struck me. When our children go to the United States to see her parents, her father, who is a former U.S. minister, takes the kids on the boat. They hear all about the Vietnam War and meet all his old war buddies. They are real Orange County Republicans. When Alexander comes back, he's dressed like an American kid. He says to me, 'Daddy, I'm an American' and he wants to speak English. You're Quebecois and I'm American,' he says, and when we pass by the American consulate he says, 'Daddy, that's my flag.'

**Maclean's:** What does your wife think of the election results?

**Bouchard:** She's interested in what I do. But she is not a passionate advocate for an independent Quebec, a country with patriotic fervor. She is pretty detached about it. She wants her children to be Americans, she's going to make sure they get their American passports. □



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# Conflict on campus

I was the kind of excitement that the troubled campus of the University of New Brunswick in downtown Fredericton seldom sees. Within the space of a few days, cameras from Atlanta-based CNN were missing the offices of the student newspapers, producers from New York City's *Dawson* talk show were phoning, and not sparsely racial critics. Caroline Pappas was offering her views that focused international attention on the two-faced campus was one of the hottest issues in university life today: date rape. In a Nov. 5 article in the student paper, *The Brunswickian*, a government obscure mathematics professor named Mike Yagoda boldly declared that young men are unable to restrain their sexual impulses—and that date rape is sometimes a necessary outlet for these urges. After his article appeared, the university suspended Yagoda and banished him from campus, accusing a review of his professional conduct—including whether the article itself constituted sexual harassment.

While the university withdrew Yagoda's suspension, late last week, its actions had already sparked a heated discussion on campuses across Canada—much of it critical of the way that it had handled the case. The reasons given by the incident are among the thorniest facing university administrators—including the limits, if any, on the right of professors to speak their minds and how best to deal with students whose words or behavior offend their students and colleagues. Those questions are particularly explosive at a time when representatives of such groups as feminists, gays and ethnic minorities are quick to take offense—and to demand reforms. According to its critics, so-called political correctness has placed a chill on freedom of expression, especially on campuses. "There is an attack on the foundations of our democratic way of life," says University of Waterloo philosophy professor Julie Wiegman, a board member of the Society for Academic Freedom and Scholarships. "And it is identity getting worse and worse."

A clear example of the kind of intolerance that the critics of political correctness fear occurred at a public forum last month at Moncton's St. Mary's University. Harold Laif, a professor emeritus at the University of Prince Edward Island, had been asked to speak about "false equality syndrome"—a controversial theory that says naive or poorly trained therapists sometimes push patients into resolving incidents of childhood sexual abuse that were happened. Laif had hardly begun speaking when about 25 of the



## Two cases spotlight the tension between fair comment and unacceptable views



Victor Depigny left the classroom facing universities

200 people in the audience dressed him out with jeering, whistling and shouts of "false equality syndrome." After several more minutes, organizers reluctantly shut down the forum. "The issue is one of academic freedom," McGill dean of arts and sciences Richard Cross told the producers, most of whom claimed to be victims of sexual abuse. "You are suppressing an idea."

Contacted at his office in Philadelphia last week, Laif expressed a kind of laissez-faire about his suspension in Montreal. "It was the first time that anything like that had happened to me," Laif told *Maclean's*, "and I've been a working academic for 42 years now." However, Laif, who speculates in a muddled and sexual dysfunction (despite all well as trying sex advice), was not entirely surprised. In recent years, he said, research into controversial matters such as false memory syndrome has been driven beyond the pale by some feminists. It is a trend he deplores. "Prejudice of expression is much more important than finding politically correct solutions to controversial areas."

Similar concerns were cited by those who criticized the way that UNB responded to Yagoda's controversial opinion piece in *The Brunswickian*. Among other things, Yagoda wrote that in this sexually liberated age, "regular sexual intercourse often becomes a necessity" for boys of 17 or all. He added, "For those maturing a university—the good readers may be helpful, but they do not provide

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an opportunity for sexual gratification for all male students and therefore the impact and the need for the so-called 'date rape'."

One week after the article appeared, UVA president Robert Armstrong announced Yagman's suspension and that academic vice-president Tim Thores would conduct a full review of the professor's 27-year career at the university. Armstrong also made it clear what he thinks about Yagman's views on date rape. In an open letter submitted to the *Observation*, the UVA president declared that "your speech does not equal respectable speech. Prof. Yagman has abused his position by inciting and encouraging be-

lieves, I've had been investigating whether Yagman's opinion columns contravene the university's sexual harassment guidelines by creating "an intimidating, hostile or offensive working or academic environment." Such an request could not happen at the U of T, she said in an interview, because the university has rejected such sweeping definitions of sexual harassment. And while Boney strongly disagrees with Yagman's views on date rape, she said that "the issue is cutting its academic heart off if they are maintaining that you can't say things that will offend people."

But to non-students union safety co-ordinator Tammy Yones, such criticism misses the mark. Yates maintains that far too much of the media attention on Yagman's short-lived suspension focused on the professor's right to free speech and far too little on the student's right to study in an atmosphere free of harassment and intimidation. "To say that men need to rape women is in cardiac violence," says Yates. "I reject that view and I think that most students and faculty do as well." In Fredrickton, and on campuses across the country, academics tread the line between free content and unacceptable conduct at their peril.

BRIAN DEBEGMAN with KIM HANLEY in Fredericton

## Critics fear an attack on free speech

view that is not only unacceptable by the standards of human decency but also subject to criminal charges.

Anything also expressed during about the negative publicity that Yagman had brought to the university. Small wonder. While CTV's cameras roamed through the campus, producers for the *60 Minutes* program were calling, looking for two students willing to go on a talk show or date rape. Meanwhile, critical *Letter People*, a humanities program at Philadelphia's University of the Arts, offered her own assessment. "It is an outrageous indictment on a professor's civil liberties," she told the *Saint John's Tri-Weekly Journal*. "The old question of the university has been the faculty."

After enduring two weeks of such intense scrutiny, the UVA and the Association of University of New Brunswick Teachers announced that Yagman's suspension had been lifted. Still, Yagman's critics were re-emerging and he will not be returning to the classroom this term. The university and the association said they now want to organize a campus conference next year on the "serious issues of prejudice that arise when race, sex, and rights collide."

Through it all, Yagman remained an elusive figure. Known locally as a defender of former Marquette teacher Blakely Rose—who lost his teaching position after writing books denying the Holocaust—Yagman initially responded to an invitation of interview requests by sending a smiling face while his opinions. New Brunswick reporters could buy an hour at his house for \$2,000, compared with \$100,000 for American and British journalists. He refused to talk.

Despite his relative silence, Yagman had no shortage of detractors—including a few from some unlikely quarters. Paddy Stamp, the University of Toronto's senior liaison officer, and she found it outrageous that, among other

## A professor's long ordeal

For Heide Judith Klatt, a psychology professor at King's College of the University of Western Ontario in London, the theory issues surrounding sexual harassment and freedom of expression are not merely theoretical. For 14 months ending in June, 1992, Klatt was the focus of an investigation that he now describes as "an injustice in its purest form"—and that has since prompted college officials to begin re-evaluating their sexual harassment policy. Klatt's ordeal began in April, 1991, when two women approached officials at the college's sexual harassment office and claimed that the 54-year-old lecturer had violated a section of the policy that prohibits "intentionally or recklessly making negative psychological comments" in the classroom. Their charges (that Klatt had repeatedly referred to a third student as "Lucky Lucy" and had said the words "perky," "bodacious" and "wunderbar" to describe women's breasts in a lecture on child development).

Employing an unusual clause in the college's sexual harassment policy, Klatt's accusers insisted that there be no attempt to resolve the matter informally. As a result, after two months of investigation by several harassment officers, the matter went straight to King's College principal Phyllis Mueller with a recommendation that "various administrative actions" be taken. Mueller appointed an outside adjudicator, Douglas LeVine, president of St. Jerome's College at the University of Waterloo, who he has conducted a four-month investigation that included closed-door interviews with students, faculty and staff.

Klatt, meanwhile, spent much of the summer of 1992 trying to locate students to speak on his behalf, and ultimately received letters of support from



Klatt: 'injustice in its purest form'

24 of the 60 students in the class. One was from the women that Klatt had dubbed "Lucky Lucy." She wrote that "at no point did I feel [the incident] was offensive or sexual in nature," and praised Klatt's abilities as a professor. Others asserted that Klatt had not used any of the offending words.

In October, 1991, LeVine delivered his report on the professor's case. On the basis of that report, Mueller examined him the following June—more than a year after Klatt had first been accused. Klatt was vindicated for legal fees and granted a year's paid leave in return for what he now describes as "12 months of intense stress." For his part, Mueller conceded that "we made mistakes"—by denying Klatt the right to face his accusers, and taking too long between the decision that he was innocent and enforcing it. But for Klatt, who calls the entire ordeal "a classic witch hunt, often and usually," those words are too little, too late.

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## A new measure of violence

A portrait of a woman with dark hair, wearing a yellow top with a black and white patterned vest. She is smiling slightly and looking towards the camera.

*A survey says half of all women are victims*

shred of mixing perfect strangers 75 per cent dressed using public transportation after dark, and another 68 per cent worried about walking in their own neighborhoods at night. "A lot of women just live in fear," said Betsuma Hirase, who counsels battered women in Vancouver. "They don't feel the world is a friendly place."

**96%**  
of women who  
are married or  
in a common-law  
relationship  
have experienced  
spousal violence

**19%**  
of women who  
are married or  
in a common-law  
relationship  
have experienced  
physical violence

**5%**  
of women who  
are married or  
in a common-law  
relationship  
have experienced  
sexual violence

**SPOUSAL VIOLENCE**

Of 317 women in the survey who were either married or in a common-law relationship, 26 per cent reported violence from a partner. Figures do not add up to 100 per cent because of multiple responses.

...to meet with women's groups this week to discuss a national action plan based on the findings. In addition to the Liberal campaign promises to devote more money to shelters and enact a public education campaign on violence, Finlayson said, the report suggested that more needs to be done to make stress easier for women. "I said that kind of announcement to back me up at the cabinet table," she said. For women's groups, such attention is long overdue. "They have spent millions to find out there is a problem," said Sargis Thoburn, president of the National Action Committee on Violence. "It's time we spent something on relieving the symptoms."



EVALUATE: DISCUSS



Shankill Road bombing:  
fear and paranoia

# 'NO SURRENDER'

IN BELFAST, PROTESTANT ANGER DROWNS OUT TALK OF PEACE

YOU have to ring the doorbell before they attack the front door in the Berlin Arms pub on Belfast's hard-core Shankill Road. Every time the bell sounds the conversation inside stops as everyone eavesdrops for the answer: it takes no judge whether the new arrival is friend or foe. "A brennan's girl to protect his customers," explains a stocky man who has already spent a good many hours at the Arms. "It wouldn't be good for business if his bar was getting shot up closed." On the Shankill, a lack of caution can be deadly. Last month, an Irish Republican Army (IRA) mortar killed two Fitzgibbon's pub shop, 50 m from the Berlin Arms, sending a death message for leaders of Protestant paramilitary groups who were believed to be meeting upstairs. They were not, but the bomb exploded anyway, killing the

23-year-old IRA man and one Protestant civilian, including a pregnant woman and a seven-year-old girl. Bombs are all far from rare at the spot where Pinner's once stood.

The Shankill is the spine of Belfast.



## ASSIGNMENT

BRUCE WALLACE  
IN NORTHERN  
IRELAND

Protestant working-class majority, a street of food stores, bars and betting shops that stretches from the city core towards the hills behind the city. Here, the Protestant community's resistance to Irish union between Northern Ireland and the predominantly Catholic Republic of Ireland is most vociferously and

violently expressed. Though ghost Northern Ireland, the Oct 23 bombing and the spate of recent killings in Protestants that followed, provoked the usual caution and pleas for peace. More significantly, a prompted British Prime Minister John Major last week to an answer that his government was prepared to sit down and negotiate with the IRA if and when it renounces violence. "This right answer to the dead, surely it is make sure no one else is killed," Major said in his opening speech to a new session of Parliament. Dangling the conflict in Northern Ireland, he added, was "the head of our enemies".

But in the bleak, twirling class housing developments that surround the Shankill the response was different. Ten instantly gangbanged by four hard the attitudes are here," says Geoffrey Smith, a Belfast native who recently wrote a book about the Shankill

Read childhood. "People were saying, 'There's no point going on for this. We need a bloodletting. Only a war will settle it.'"

The men and women of the Shankill do not easily forgive or forget. In the Berlin Arms, they speak of local nationalists who were "sacrificed" while fighting under British command at the Somme in 1916 as if it happened only yesterday. The pub's Protestant patrons know exactly who their enemies are, and they in effect almost everyone. The Catholic nationalists who want to unite Northern Ireland with the Republic, British politicians, who they believe would sell out their interests to achieve peace, and moderation within the Protestant community who violate the loyalist code of "No Surrender." A suspicious and often vicious lot, they are determined to ensure that Ulster remains part of the United Kingdom—even if the rest of Britain shares this enthusiasm for the idea. The result, paradoxically, is that the most extreme loyalists—members of either the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) or the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), both of which have been so far—may now waging a campaign of terror against Britain in order to preserve their place within it.

In recent years, Protestant killers have surpassed the IRA in their incoherence. Hundreds of young Protestants turned to their own paramilitary groups for protection and revenge, convinced that the pro-fleece security forces were ineffective against IRA assassins. They have adopted the weapons and approach of their Catholic counterparts, such as vicious attacks on their own shops and that year added a strange twist: the loyalists declared war on a "pro-Catholic front" making many Catholic, including publicans and officials, a target for murder.

The aim is to make the Catholic community so fearful that it will ultimately beg at the mercy of its own law. The plan has not worked. To-day-to killings continue—70 so far this year—and the violence escalated in October after the Shankill Road bombing. Protestant gun area retailed only by day, during the Catholic workers in the plant street and spraying bullets through gaps in the town of Greyhound, killing seven people on Saturday. "Each area there is an attack, the

politicians promise to limit the killing down," says Gerry Long, a solicitor's unemployed Protestant blacksmith who lives in a quiet Belfast suburb. "But it never stops and everybody still listening a long time ago. That's why people join the paramilitaries. If the government won't protect us, we have to defend ourselves."

There are signs everywhere of the Protestants' lack of faith in the British government. In the Berlin Arms, the walls are plastered with loyalist posters adding to the information that might lead to the IRA terrorists who were behind the bombing of the pub shop. The chance in the bar is thick with paranoia. "My brother did two years in Belfast with the British army," says one man who will only give his name as Joe T. Joe's brother now serves in Cyprus, but Joe insists that the IRA has a long reach. "If anything happens to him over there, I know that it was ordered from here," he says, leaning forward for emphasis. "And if it does, I'll take a Catholic out for him."



October's killing spree frightened a population that is already hardened to violence. Most people stayed off the streets except for essential business, and Belfast's daily life slowly ground to a halt. Not until people were satisfied that loyalist gunmen had ended the spate of attacks did the city return to normal.

At the same time, however, fears that Northern Ireland was slipping further into the grip of the paramilitaries provoked renewed appeals for peace.

**'The right memorial to the dead, surely, is to make sure no one else is killed'**

British Prime Minister John Major

congresses in Northern Ireland all right," says Marjory Greaney, a Catholic whose son was wounded by the IRA in his last year. "They are the ordinary people on one side and the paramilitaries on the other. If the paramilitaries would go the business would disappear."

Major and Reynolds are being open a peace initiative began last spring. John Hume, leader of the Social Democrats, Northern Ireland's largest Catholic party and

## World Notes

### A NEW IRA IN SOUTH AFRICA

South African negotiators agreed in an interim constitution that finally ends apartheid and gives the black majority the vote for the first time. The constitution includes a bill of rights and sets up a 40-member national assembly, a 90-member senate, a multiparty cabinet and nine provinces with their own legislatures. It also reincorporates into South Africa the four supposedly "independent" black homelands. The country's first national elections are set for April 27, when African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will likely become South Africa's first black president.

### SARE PASSAGE

The leaders of Bosnia's three warring factions agreed a declaration to guarantee UN and foreign-supervised passage this winter across Bosnia, where 2.7 million people depend on relief supplies. All sides in Bosnia's 19-month-old war have harassed relief convoys, in effect, using humanitarian aid as a weapon. The UN suspended relief operations in central Bosnia last month after the death of a Danish aid driver.

### MURDER IN URBANION

Unknown gunmen shot and killed Mwanzi Shikanyele, PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's top official in Lebanon. It was the sixth attack on mainstream PLO officials since the August signing of the Israeli-Palestinian peace accord. Some observers blamed the attacks on Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal, who opposes the agreement.

### A MILITARY TAKEOVER

Nigeria reverted to military rule following the resignation of Ernest Shonekan, head of the country's unelected interim government. Gen. Sani Abacha assumed power after Shonekan quit amid a general strike over his government's unpopular decision to raise fuel prices. Abacha's takeover in a direct end of the political crisis left by previous military ruler Gen. Abacha Abacha, who assumed Gen. 12 elections for a successor president and in a full Shonekan.

### A POLITICAL PRISON

A federal grand jury convened to determine whether any charges should be laid after Ed Butler, campaign strategist for New Jersey governor-elect Christine Whitman, told reporters that the grand jury had spent \$85,000 to discourage blacks from voting in the Nov. 2 elections.



a coalition) chief of all terror, and Gerry Adams, leader of Sinn Féin, the IRA's political wing, secretly drafted an outline of principles for a new agreement. And despite the British government's stated refusal to talk to Sinn Féin, Adams claims that the Major government quietly policed backroom talks several months ago.

Last week Major finally laid out the way ahead. He urged the IRA to declare a ceasefire. After an indefinite "sufficient amount" of years, he said, Sinn Féin would be invited to join peace talks. All sides, Major added, "will have to show courage, court unpopularity, break down old barriers and take risks." Dismaying Street sources suggested that, as possible scenarios might entail sharing control with the Irish Republic over issues such as trade and security in Ulster, in return for those concessions, Dublin would drop its constitutional claim to sovereignty over the province.

But the secrecy surrounded the negotiations so far has stirred the natural paranoia of the Protestant community, which fears that its desire to remain under British rule may be sacrificed for peace. Major's comments last week were a clear rebuke to hardliners such as Rev. Ian Paisley, who insists that he and his followers will never surrender sovereignty to the Irish republic.

From the raised pulpit at his Marston Memorial Free Presbyterian Church in Belfast on a recent Sunday, Paisley warned his listeners not to let down their guard. "Some peace movements are propaganda plays to keep people from realizing the issues that have to be sorted before there can be peace," he thundered. Paisley is not necessarily a consistent preacher in a fundamentalist congregation. He is also, in order of the Democratic Unionist Party, which collected more than 300,000 votes in the 1992 British election and now has three members in the British parliament, its reaction to any hint of compromise unwavering: the depth and passion of Protestant resistance. "Do not be fooled by people who talk of peace," Paisley shouted at his congregation. "That's the price of surrender. Until the evil is conquered and dealt with, there can be no peace."

While the politicians talk, the segregation of Northern Ireland's working-class communities is a bare downtown shelter so cold that you can see your breath, 24-year-old Billie Jo sits with her boyfriend, William, and two children and explains why she wants

to leave the province. She and her family are Protestants living in a tough Protestant neighborhood. But for reasons that remain murky, they have become a target of local paramilitary groups. Last Sept. 15, police came to the door at 10:30 p.m. and warned them that their names were on a list of targets drawn up by Protestant terrorists and passed to the police—a common method by which paramilitary groups chase their victims out of a neighborhood. The reasons were both wanting to clear a Catholic family out of a Protestant housing estate—a local version



Adams (right) at Catholic funeral; secret backroom talks months ago

of ethnic cleansing—a paramilitary someone who has offended the paramilitaries.

Billie Jo states that she does not know why the paramilitaries have targeted her, but she was sufficiently worried to abandon the house within 30 minutes, leaving all her furniture behind. The family did not return home until Nov. 15, and were threatened again three days later. Now, they want to leave for good.

Forcing people out of their homes has become so widespread that the local housing authority has a policy of buying houses from people who have been threatened and paying to relocate them. It is one sign of the degree to which paramilitary groups have become ingrained. "Mad as hell," into the local culture and economy. Protection rackets flourish. Paramilitary groups run the local tax services, and insist that they, not the security services, will police neighborhoods. The paramilitaries on both sides have a policy of administrative beatings in people instead of "militant behavior." Often that means displaying local teenagers who make a habit of jerking in stolen cars. But it has also become the brutal method of resolving disputes between neighbors. "Lots of

people have say, 'You got a problem. I'm going to sue the IRA,'" explains Henry Robinson, a former IRA member who now works for a nonsectarian social agency.

Bellevue's working-class areas are among several that have seen the province's sectarian war. Sporadic shooting continues along the border with the Irish Republic. For years, Irishmen have accused the IRA of sinking at Protestant and British army targets from safe havens in the Republic, making those Protestant citizens with their rolling firearms another battlefield. Along the border,

the war is never far away. On Halloween, an IRA sniper shot and killed a Protestant policeman at the border town of Newry.

But the war is inevitably among Northern Ireland's Protestants also results from a less visible creeping threat. A generation ago, Protestants accounted for two-thirds of the province's population. Now, their share is 58 per cent, in part because of the Catholic community's higher birthrate. And although many Catholics do not share the anti-alienist dreams of a united Ireland, Protestant leadership are clearly worried by the trend. Increasingly, members of the community are rejecting into Protestant enclaves, or emigrating from Northern Ireland altogether. In Aldershot, a pastoral haven just outside Newry, 59-year-old Roger Dodds says that his goal is to leave a trade and leave the province quickly. And there is nothing great about Aldershot's Orange Lodge, an occasional gathering place for members of the shrinking local Protestant population. It is a dried old barn, covered in hostile graffiti of which the most polite is "Orange Secs."

Although hopes for peace are now higher than they have been for years, the greatest barrier to a settlement probably lies with Protestant loyalists, not Irish nationalists. "After all this loyalty to Britain in the face of terrorism, the British government now says, 'We want to get rid of you,'" complains Ian Paisley Jr., 26, who works as a researcher for his father. The younger Paisley is a self-proclaimed, more academic version of his father, but is every bit as understanding. "We have to stand up for our rights. To many Protestants, democracy has become an abstract concept, and that is very dangerous." The young Paisley will not let the British government's ability to soothe hardline Protestant suspicion and desperation. If the peace initiative fails, the gun-happy young man who proffers the power and influence of terror are almost sure to prevail. □

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# Campaign '93

Party Russia's 157 million voters. With winter battling they grip upon a vast land, they will have to slog through the cold and gloom as Dec. 12's perspective in the South extends behind it as many years. This time around, Russians will have to wade with a complicated voting procedure that is designed to select candidates for a new 450-seat duma, or legislative body. They will also vote on a new constitution that would vastly increase Russian President Boris Yeltsin's powers. As a result, many Russians plan to stay at home on voting day convinced that there is little point in electing operators in a parliament that will likely prove self-serving.



Yeltsin: Russia's new constitution will vastly increase his powers

dictatorship. Opposition groups, including the Communist Party of Russia, also complain that the game is rigged against them, although that has not stopped them from mounting.

Stad Communist Leader Gennady Zyuganov, "This election is clearly weighted in favor of those who support Yeltsin. But we are fighting for the poor, and most Russians are not in that category." Pro-Yeltsin forces clearly enjoy substantial advantages in the campaign. The sliver of candidates for Russia's Choice, the most viable of the 13 political parties contesting the election, includes four high-profile cabinet members including Yegor Gaidar, the 38-year-old architect of Russia's economic reform program. The other pro-Yeltsin party, Russian Unity and Accord, counts Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin among its stars. Moreover, the state-owned television and radio networks give prominent play to the resources of pro-Yeltsin candidates—which should count as no surprise in light of the fact that Russia's director of national broadcasting and two of his top deputies are running on the Russia's Choice ticket. Gaidar, Vladimir Filin, a so-called moderate candidate who opposes Yeltsin's plans for economic reform, "Behind Russia's Choice is the whole power of the media and high-level economic resources are funneling billions of rubles behind them and it is hard to even get against such a powerful union."

But while polls show Russia's Choice

with strong support in urban areas, a crush of Communists and like-minded members of the Agrarian Party—who represent Southern collective farms—is buying to draw support from the countryside of Russia's voters who live in the countryside. Pro-

dictatorship, the Communists favor continued government support for the country's wasteful and inefficient state farms. They also oppose the private sale of land—a position that is popular among farm workers who are worried about losing state-guaranteed jobs and salaries. Prefect of Communist leader Zyuganov, a 49-year-old former high school teacher who spent nine years in jail of the Soviet Communist party's propaganda department. "Agricultural areas would leave workers' regions and so on will give us around 30 percent of the vote. Added his rising male Agrarian Party leader Mikhail Lapshin. "There are 40 million people in the villages and they are all ours. That is something that the polls ignore."

Both the Communists and the Agrarian Party have strong local organizations if they succeed in toppling Yeltsin with Yeltsin's economic reform policies, they could capture that 400 seats in the new legislature. But Zyuganov, a bolding, avowed politician, who occasionally shows fiery Marxist rhetoric or extreme positions, last week invited open-

ly that the government would spend its duty to ensure victory for the pro-Yeltsin side. To help prevent fraud, some 1,000 international observers, including about 50 from Canada, are set to monitor the election. Stad Zyuganov. "Everything will depend on the people who count the votes, as it would be relatively easy to rig this election."

To demonstrate the ease with which political support can be bought, last week the Moscow daily newspaper *Kommunisticheskaya Pravda* (Young Communists' Truth) sent several reporters out into the streets to gather interviews from voters, a prelude for any candidate hoping to run in one of the


new legislature's single-seat constituencies. Pre-tending to be supporters of the improbably named Coach Parry, a British organization with the slogan "Everyone should enjoy a comfortable life," they offered a free can of beer to anyone who signed up in support of Parry. Parry, an equally improbable candidate, is in the spot of 20 minutes, the journalists traded 24 hours in return for an equal number of signatures.

Yeltsin himself is not above fiddling with the rules when it suits him. In recent weeks, he has taken several steps that have given ammunition to foes who accuse him of obstructive behavior. He banned anti-party opposition parties from contesting the Dec. 12 election, shut

down 35 newspapers and usually subjected the press to a brief period of censorship. In September, he unilaterally dissolved the old, obstructive parliament—and sent troops to quell its resistance when a handful of opposition members organized an armed assault on government buildings.

After that, Yeltsin promised to hold a presidential election next spring. Since then, however, he has hinted that he might not allow the election to go ahead. He has postponed taking a final decision on the matter until he consults with a new assembly that he clearly hopes will be picked by his supporters. No matter what the outcome of the election, Russia will vote on Dec. 13 to a political statement that has been the rule rather than the exception throughout their long history: real power will still be in the hands of one man in the Kremlin.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow




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# REACHING OUT

BY DEBORAH MCNUHLY

There were no rattling crowds of *Wives and Eyes Are Smiling* walking over the water of Seattle's Puget Sound last weekend. In fact, the jolly spirit of the 1990 Skunkook Burn, where Brian Mulroney and Ronald Reagan burst into song, was nowhere to be found at the initial meeting between Prime Minister Jean Chretien and President Bill Clinton. When school kids and educational congressionaries were emerging in the 1930s, Mulroney's farm-education for his presidential mentors to the south gave a strong bilateral focus to Canadian policy initiatives in an increasingly multilateral world. But these days appear to be over. At the Seattle gathering, the sober mood reflected less buoyant economic conditions—and the concurrent strain in two-way trade relations. And just one day after the House of Representatives approved a trade deal that includes Mexico in an expanded North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), both leaders signalled that, after the weekend at a 15-member Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit, they intended to focus on an even broader agenda.

Leaderive for open  
globalkets—despite  
strongistance at home

Clinton is committed, as his party's policy platform, to lead Canada worldwide wider foreign connections than Mulroney's well-travelled route to the White House of Reagan and George Bush or to Bush's summer home in Kennebunkport, Me. As for Clinton, now that North is checked off on his "to do" list, he clearly intends to sustain the free trade momentum he generated at huge political cost in the battle for support of the three-way pact. Without skipping a beat, he began to gear up Americans for the mother of all multilateral trade events—the octopus of the Uruguay Round of the 116-member General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) by year-end.

Despite the President's brash confidence after his hard-won NAFTA victory, there is no evidence that the most vocal of free-trade believers in subsequent terms—will be any easier for him or for Chretien. While there is a widespread intellectual acknowledgment that liberalized commerce ultimately invigorates all economies, there is still considerable unilateral and policy leakage to left side. Technology has made the world a smaller, flatter place, but people, if not corporations, still relate viscerally to their home turf. On the economic front, that connection has traditionally been reinforced by trade-policy fiat. For centuries, it has emphasized borders and the staunch defence of markets and producers within those borders.

But trade has acquired a brand new role in the post-Cold War era. The once-clear division between congressional forces, the capitalists versus the Communists, has now been blurred. And without a shared enemy, their spirit and collective identity are no longer sufficient incentive to smooch over commercial disputes. At the same time, the line between trade policy and foreign policy has also be-

come less distinct. More than ever, trade is being used as a carrot or a stick on the international stage. When the United States wants to extract a pledge from China about obscuring human rights, it samples the withdrawal of China's "most-favored nation" trading status as a potential threat. Trade and investment are also replacing dollar-for-dollar aid to less-developed countries. In fact, one of the villains behind the introduction of NAFTA was that the pact would hurt Mexico, and eventually other Latin American nations, to gain economic strength through trade and achieve greater political stability as a consequence.

The national governments of most developed countries are currently grappling with the challenge of formulating policies that take into account that new global character of trade. But it has not been easy. Domestic issues are conveniently lagging in the opposite direction. The result is that a complex continental trade deal, such as NAFTA, is reduced to a one-dimensional debate about the exclusively domestic concern with jobs. Furthermore, to delay several of the most political concerns about free trade, Clinton had to make serious political pledges to wavering congressmen, including a promise to confront Canada about its duties toward exports to the United States.

In the struggle to devise policies that balance domestic priorities and global reality, national sovereignty is emerging as a particularly sticky area. More and more, even that have traditionally been considered the exclusive domain of the nation state are being forced out to the international agenda—intellectual property, environmental and resource management and labor, among others. As leaders and citizens adjust to the unfamiliar demands of globalization, several long exchanges have already occurred. In North America, the disparity in size and power has made U.S.-Canada relations especially sensitive and Chretien clearly intends to stand his ground on a number of unresolved trade disputes. In the case of Europe, efforts to transcend borders and to embrace a joint foreign policy and an Exchange Rate Mechanism have already taken by the reins. And it remains to be seen whether the notion of a single European currency will soon be required by the end of the century.

Where national states are not the dominant consideration, regional trade still occupies the global picture. Since a meeting in Montevideo, Uruguay, in 1990, members of the pact have been trying unsuccessfully to create a framework for the liberalization of global trade. But despite the widespread acknowledgment that more open markets would add more than \$200 billion a year to the stagnant world economy, and the frequent public professions of support for GATT by national leaders, the conclusion of the Uruguay Round of negotiations is now almost three years past its original 1990 deadline. Instead of the GATT, extensions of the newly formed European Union have been concentrating on the development of their own trade bloc. And in North America, NAFTA has also generated more attention than the long-delayed GATT pact.

Even before the final congressional votes endorsing NAFTA were in, trade experts were hailing the victory as a step forward for GATT. And with the cooling of the decade-long low tariff battles between Ottawa and Washington, multilateralism has a better chance than ever of gaining ground in Fort Knox North America. □

French farmers protest the GATT agricultural accord in Marseilles

# GETTING TO KNOW YOU

I took less than an hour last week in the first ever meeting between Canada's 20th Prime Minister and the 42nd President of the United States to signal an end to the backslapping, bow-hugging that has existed between the two countries' leaders during the past nine years. Surrounded by more than half a dozen aides each and shrouded in a small room in a Seattle hotel, Jean Chrétien and Bill Clinton sat down privately, untroubled by small talk and ceremonial constraints when they discussed the policy issues that divide them. After hours of discussion of their disputes over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), Clinton allowed that "we've got a good shot at working it out." An equally restrained Chrétien said that he was "satisfied"—but gave few other details. And with this—and several other equally vague and cautious remarks—the meeting left owners the two men heading the world's largest trading partnership was over.

Whoever they are, the New North American Order under Chrétien, Clinton's approach to the two men will be more formal and less publicly enthusiastic than it was under Brian Mulroney. Those qualities, in turn, will likely be reflected in Washington's approach to Canada. And both sides while discussing their trade ties, apparently to spend more time publicly emphasizing new ties with other countries. As prime minister, Mulroney sought and succeeded in forming friendships with both Ronald Reagan and George Bush. One reason was Mulroney's personal adoration for the United States and his own was his oft-repeated belief that "you catch more flies with honey than vinegar"—in other words, that the strength of such bonds would benefit Canadians. After meeting their President Bush in a visit to Washington in February, 1989, Clinton offered a scathing



comparison between Mulroney's style of diplomacy and his own. "Mulroney," said Chrétien, "was more about grilling other leaders to learn how they should get things that Canada needs. I understand that as politics there is no room for friendship."

Furthermore, Mulroney has learned, the change in government in Ottawa may also mean a change in the top Canadian representative in the United States. Since senior Liberals speculate that Chrétien will replace John de

## Chrétien and Clinton in Seattle: 'There is no room for friendship'

Chastelain, Canada's ambassador to Washington after an "appropriate delay" that would probably extend to more than six months. De Chastelain, the former chief of Canada's defence staff, was expected to be replaced by Mulroney's last January. Although he has been greatly praised by many Canadian and American observers for his performance, some Lib-

eralists feel that he has been too willing to compromise at a time when that is crucial.

Most of the change in the bilateral relationship will be cosmetic: analysis on both sides of the border, as well as senior Liberals, agree that the close economic ties and essentially warm feelings between the two countries will remain unchanged. And none of the arguments for any changes will come from the senior partner—Canada. Despite the fact that both countries have elected new political partners to lead them within the past year, one state department official told *Blackboard*, "We do not foresee any visible differences in the way we will get along." One cause of relief, say American analysts, was Chrétien's decision to name such pro-business fiscal con-

## Chrétien signals a new reserve in Canada-U.S. relations

servatives as Finance Minister Paul Martin, International Trade Minister Joe MacLellan and Industry Minister John Manley to key portfolios.

Still, there are state concerns on both sides of the border. For Canada also, the biggest worry came as a result of the protectionist mood in the United States reflected in the debate over NAFTA. That threatened to affect Canada's huge merchandise trade surplus with the United States—which, since the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement went into effect on Jan. 1, 1989, has grown from \$23.8 billion annually to \$18.8 billion last year. As well, Clinton recently showed a willingness to succumb to protectionism when he promised to phase changes by American farmers that Canadian-grown domestic wheat is sold at unfairly low prices in the United States.

In turn, Washington also has some adjustments to make to its view of Canada's government. Unlike the previous Conservative administration—but in keeping with traditional Liberal views—Chrétien is interested in establishing distinctions between the two countries. In the early days of his government, one American source among Liberals in the mogul of the "Third Option" was the Trudeauists' notion that the key to Canadian economic expansion lies in increasing ties with Pacific Rim countries and others beyond the north Atlantic axis and, consequently, decreasing dependence on traditional partner states such as the United States.

That, say some observers, seems amenable to accepting an idea that is already becoming increasingly true. In terms of integration

and trade, "The Pacific is already becoming tomorrow and the Atlantic Ocean yesterday," said Michael Hewes, a political science professor at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., and an expert in Canada-U.S. and Canada-Latin trade relations. In fact, one Canadian adviser made a point of emphasizing that last week's Clinton-Chrétien meeting took place "in just one corner" of the North Pacific Economic Cooperation meeting in Seattle.

In fact, Chrétien's actions are in keeping with traditional Liberal philosophy that prevailed in his own previous days in cabinet roles both under previous and Prime Trudeau. Both men studied out foreign policy proposals that at times differed sharply from American goals and interests. Among these steps: Trudeau kept open ties with the former Soviet Union during the height of the Cold War in the early 1980s; formerly recognized the People's Republic of China in 1979 when the United States had refused to do so, and visited and warmly praised Cuba's leader, Fidel Castro, in 1978.

Still, a divergence on foreign policy between Ottawa and Washington now is unlikely to evolve nearly as much turbulence as it was in the 1970s. One reason is the demise of communism and the end of the Cold War. Another is that

Chrétien and Clinton both appear far more interested that their predecessors in domestic affairs and less passionate about international diplomacy. Although Mulroney and Trudeau held sharply different views, both engaged in international policy debates and delighted in boasting of their relations with other leaders. Chrétien, by contrast, seldom talks of his brief

stint as external affairs minister in 1984 and demonstrates little interest in the affairs of other countries. Socially, Canadian-American relations do not seem nearly as much political first and foremost as they once did in Canada. For years the New Democratic Party served as the anti-American voice in the House of Commons. But this year Prime Minister Mulroney's NDP has been replaced by a more centrist and one of the few points of agreement between the main opposition leaders, Lucien Bouchard of the Bloc Québécois and Reform Party. Making it all that easier for Chrétien is likely to spend less time in the House of Commons, but he has many more opportunities to meet powerful neighbors. Chrétien and Clinton's small talk backed on the peaceful last week, the last Prime Minister could manage a surprising enthusiasm for the United States. Clinton was a reference to the fact that his last teacher, Willie Ross born in New Hampshire. But when asked that Chrétien is content to make his points to the Agency come with a minimum of fanfare, a Chrétien aide said that, shortly after talking with the Prime Minister, he spoke with a senior U.S. state department official in express his concern that the White House is trying to change the sections of the Free Trade Agreement protecting Canadian cultural institutions. Now, it is Washington's turn to come to grips with a Prime Minister who prefers himself to speaking from the heart.

ANTHONY WILSON SMITH is Seattle with JACQUELYNNE WOOD and BARBARA CARROLL/USA in Ottawa

## Operation APEC

**T**HE 1989 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in Seattle and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) negotiations in Washington, D.C., are the two most important events in the world's economic calendar this week. The two events are linked by a common theme: the search for a new world order.

APEC nations, however, largely a high-level talking shop, aimed at the participants share the same theme. Although it is expected to result in a commitment on international trade and investment, APEC is not a working group. It is a forum for discussion. The 1989 summit in Seattle was the first of its kind. The summit was held in Seattle, Washington, on November 19-20, 1989. The summit was the first of its kind. The summit was held in Seattle, Washington, on November 19-20, 1989. The summit was the first of its kind.

But such doubt has done nothing to discourage potential new initiatives. Last week, APEC members met in Seattle to discuss new member countries and to discuss the APEC's future. The summit was held in Seattle, Washington, on November 19-20, 1989. The summit was the first of its kind. The summit was held in Seattle, Washington, on November 19-20, 1989. The summit was the first of its kind.

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# THE FIGHT FOR OPEN MARKETS

**B**ob Franks voted in favor of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in the U.S. House of Representatives last week. But most of his colleagues—the 41-year-old first-term Republican congressman from New Jersey had trouble putting on his mind. He also had a lot of conflicting advice. In late October, President Bill Clinton visited Franks and a dozen of his colleagues to the White House and presented the case for NAFTA. "It was a heated discussion," said Franks—much on voters of liberal construction projects for his district or other favors to district jobs. Later, Clinton asked Franks to the White House for dinner a couple of times but Franks had other engagements. A week after Clinton's briefing, Texas fellow-representative Pete Stanger visited Franks's office near the Capitol, and urged him to vote against NAFTA. But a few days later, Franks announced that he would vote Yes. Shortly before the vote last week, one of Franks's closest constituents tried one last time to change his mind—and to remind him of the crushing defeat of Canada's pro-NAFTA. "I'm a pro-NAFTA," Franks told the warning in stride. "It's understandable," he said after his visitors left. "It's an outcome of the deep economic uncertainty in the country."

Despite the convincing vote in favor of NAFTA in the House last week, by 354 to 200, those uncertainties remain—both in the United States and abroad. All that remains is that the U.S. Senate pass the treaty and it will then go into effect, Jan. 1, 1994. NAFTA has received parliamentary approval in Canada and approval in Mexico is guaranteed. Once approved, the massive trade deal between Canada, the United States and Mexico will eliminate almost all tariffs among the three countries over

the next 15 years. And as Clinton laid out at the 15-member Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit meeting in Seattle last week, he declared that the approval of NAFTA would give him a strengthened hand to fight for more open markets around the world.

But as his growing campaign to prevail on Capitol Hill—most of it shaped against his own Democratic Party—Clinton cut dozens of private last-minute side deals with individual congressmen to protect vulnerable U.S. industries ranging from textiles to peanut butter. As a result, many of his supporters and opponents question his commitment to unrestricted trade. Devoted U.S. economy advocate Robert

## A presidential push brings a win for NAFTA

Nader ("For the Pro! deal to promote protection to win votes like NAFTA is to take the concept of mass surveillance")

Indeed, in the final days before the vote, both Clinton and his opponents in Congress stripped up their attacks on all

legally "tariff-free" foreign competition. NAFTA opponents denounced Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's government as a corrupt dictatorship that deliberately links its economy to western nations before it is an hour and twenty-four hours of environmental laws—in an effort to attract foreign investment. "The working people who stand against this treaty know when the deal is stacked against them," said Michigan Democratic David Bonior in an emotional speech in the House. Clinton said his own personal affairs determined those attacks on the "politics of fear" that they played in those same years, including



Anti-NAFTA rally by garment workers in New York City; protesters in Seattle (below) 'economics uncertainty'

that the supplemental side agreements on labor involving minimum wage standards as well as stricter environmental laws, hammered out by U.S., Canadian, and Mexican negotiators last August could be used to force Mexico to close up its act.

Clinton was even further than this. To secure the last few votes, he presided from a conference room about the impact of NAFTA on agricultural producers in their districts, he promised to launch a series of trade invest-



David Gergen

ments and other measures against Mexico and Canada. At first glance, some of the measures hardly seemed worthy of the attention of the President at the United States. Among Clinton's proposed measures: bans on textile imports from Mexico; countries, tomatoes, sweet corn and peppers during the winter; labeling regulations requiring foreign food producers to identify vegetables grown in Mexico; and tolls on imports of Mexican sugar and dairy. Tellingly to Canada, he promised to increase Canada's grain transportation subsidies. American farmers also feared that those subsidies have allowed Canadian exporters to undercut them in price and capture about 30 per cent of the U.S. market for durum wheat mainly to make pasta. But Clinton also threatened to impose limits on imports of Canadian poultry better made with low-priced Chinese and African poultry. The value of these exports totaled just \$14.9 million in 1992, about one per cent of the U.S. poultry market.

In Canada, even ardent free-trade supporters balked at such heavy-handed tactics. Neil Simon Bennett, who was Canada's chief negotiator in the 1988 Canada-U.S. free trade talks, "It's very disturbing that [Clinton] would be throwing the babies out of the back of the sleigh. Some of them are Canadian babies and I don't like that." Clinton's tough talk also provoked ammunition for Canadian opponents of NAFTA. They say that Clinton should back away from the deal and refuse to produce NAFTA, which would rapidly approval in the previous President. "It's a protectionism of the worst kind," said Ontario Premier Bob Rae, who has said that

his government will challenge the deal in the courts on protectionist grounds. Not in Seattle, however, where much of Canada's durum wheat is grown. provincial Agriculture Minister Darrell Cunningham said that Clinton was bringing his way to victory.

Given that the President needed every vote he could muster in pro-NAFTA, Canada officials seemed content to discuss his subtle tactics on relatively minor issues in Washington politics. But Clinton's dramatic come-from-behind victory in the NAFTA vote also posed more profound challenges to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien on the eve of the two leaders' first official meeting at the Seattle summit. During the federal election campaign, Chrétien vowed to recognize NAFTA as a victory for Canada's free trade. environmental and labor standards, energy exports, and the way that the agreement will deal with subsidies and dumping. Canada's free trade bill selling price is less than their last selling price at 100%. Below his departure for the meeting, Chrétien declared: "For me, having no rules on dumping and no rules on subsidies, were always subject to pressure or movement by the American government. He added: "We want rules that are understood and respected by everybody."

While Clinton readily agreed to clarify the definitions of dumping and subsidies and to coordinate a side deal on Canadian water supplies to the United States, he remained adamant about sticking to the money provisions new to the trade deal. Tellingly, in his campaign, Chrétien declared that he wanted to change NAFTA's energy provisions so that Canada, like Mexico, would become exempt from constraints to supply the United States with oil and gas during shortages.

Despite such qualms with NAFTA, however, Clinton clearly views Clinton's term in expediting trade opportunities in Latin America. In fact, expediting trade is a key plank in the Liberal economic platform, and the NAFTA document contains a clause that allows other countries to join the trade zone without negotiating the whole deal from scratch.

Even before Clinton and Clinton arrived in Seattle, the trade talks advisers were actively looking beyond North America. While those officials look back their history in the NAFTA vote, several visions of a grand "triple play" to trade agreements. The first step the NAFTA agreement itself, followed by agreements with approval in the previous President. "It's a protectionism of the worst kind," said Ontario Premier Bob Rae, who has said that

## Shifting loyalties

**F**or many lawmakers, the outcome of last week's NAFTA vote was seen as a clear victory for international commerce. For President Bill Clinton, however, it was also a badly needed political victory that gives him precious time to focus on issues in domestic affairs. In fact, his impact as a legislative defender, who looks at a fight, has now been sealed. Said a senior U.S. diplomat: "Clinton has shown by the NAFTA vote that he's a country player who gets his way when the chips are down."

But the environmental President may have his attention to three other major pieces of legislation: health care, welfare reform and crime. In U.S. domestic issues, health care is really more significant than NAFTA and it is the cornerstone of



Clinton's administration

care with NAFTA and his surprisingly high welfare and crime legislation, Clinton seems to be leaving many congressmen in his own party behind. David Gergen, the President's chief counsel, says that the President's new legislative approach has unfolded in an era of "floating confidence." But other things loomed when Clinton was in to put his legislation on the way years he presents major new legislation. Said Stephen Hess, an analyst with the Brookings Institution in Washington: "The guy keeps jumping from one thing to the next, and you wonder if he's going to make it." But with NAFTA all but completed, Clinton's next jump looks easier.

WILLIAM LINTHICUM New York Times

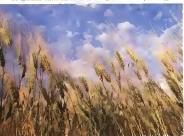
colle. Kim countries that date the AFCEC forum. Clinton vows to use NAFTA as a lever to break down barriers to U.S. products in countries around the world when GATT meets in Geneva next month. These talks, aimed at reaching a new global accord, have been under way since 1984 and face a Dec. 15 deadline. In his statement to reporters at the White House after the vote in the House of Representatives, Clinton argued that the United States must break into new markets to remain the world's leading economic power. Said Clinton: "We have to compete, not retreat."

That statement sounded only similar to the pro-free-market pronouncements of Clinton's two Republican predecessors, Ronald Reagan and George Bush, whose administrations rejected the agreement before Clinton took af-

the properties three decades ago—and the ratio is dropping.

Even on the most superficial level, the battle of NAFTA highlights exposed the wrong political class of the nation. In their first push before the big vote, AFCEC leaders and other union opponents of the deal operated out of a dingy, unadorned room with only one telephone in the Rayburn Building, across the street from the Capitol itself. By contrast, supporters of the deal occupied a bright, ground-floor meeting room in the Capitol building itself, with up-to-date communications gadgetry. As well, the talks were packed with men and women with cherry-looking "NAFTA Vets" and U.S.A. NAFTA buttons pinned on to their gleefully tailored suits.

But while Clinton and his lieutenants Republicans and corporate supporters



Downwind at Shenandoah, a U.S. center of asbestos

for last January. And by taking a huge political gamble—and winning—on NAFTA, Clinton continued his push to shift his party's economic policy to the right. In the House vote, Clinton received more support from Republicans than from his own party. Republican votes 132 to 43 in favor of NAFTA, while Democrats voted 136 to 103 against it.

The vote was particularly satisfying for union leaders, traditionally the Democrats' strongest supporters and the biggest contributors to their campaigns. And in pushing for NAFTA, Clinton concluded that the Republicans and their allies from large corporations were more valuable to him than his old union backers. "That assessment was based on the hard political and economic realities of the 1990s: only 15.4 per cent of American workers are now organized, less than half

provided in the House vote, the debate over the economic impact of the deal—and how to cope with the dislocation that it will create—were on Clinton's knowledge that in his next job, immediately following the vote, "We must make sure that this great work to America's advantage," he declared. And so to that, Clinton urged the congressional coalition that paved the path to help kick-start "a world-class re-employment system" soon after that early and quiet.

In that United States, just assessing the scope of the dislocation caused by NAFTA will be at least as difficult. The latest estimates of the net gain or loss in U.S. employment under NAFTA range from a loss of 496,000 jobs predicted by the left-leaning Economic Policy Institute to a gain of 171,000 jobs forecast by the right-wing Heritage for International Economics in Washington. Those are

## Trade update

Canada's commerce with the United States, its principal trade partner, is governed by the Free Trade Agreement, which came into force on Jan. 1, 1989. But NAFTA will have some bearing on key Canadian sectors.

### Agriculture

The first countries to conclude a series of bilateral agreements in which domestic marketing boards have been preserved. The boards set price and production levels for dairy, poultry and egg products. Farms in other agriculture products will be phased out over a period of up to 15 years. Complaints by American grain growers that durum wheat from Canada is substandard (and sold at unfairly low prices) prompted the promise of an inquiry from President Bill Clinton to two members of the U.S. House of Representatives whom pro-NAFTA voters he sought. U.S. Agriculture Secretary Mike Doxey and Canadian Agriculture Minister Romy Deneault will try to resolve the dispute within two months. If they fail, the U.S. International Trade Commission will investigate the allegations.

### Automobiles and parts

NAFTA guarantees the 1985 Canada-U.S. Auto Pact, which provides free trade between manufacturers of motor vehicles and parts as long as at least half the components of cars and light trucks are made in North America, and it raises that components requirement to 62.5 per cent. That works against overseas automakers assembling vehicles in North America. Canadian-based automakers say this then is an argument that the pact will lead to increased trade with Mexico and, ultimately, more Canadian jobs.

### Energy

NAFTA, like the FTAs, includes a proportional sharing clause that states that, in times of shortage, Canadian energy supplies must be provided to the United States at the same proportion as they were supplied in the three years immediately preceding the shortage. Mexico has been exempted from this so-called "proportionality clause," and it retains the right to limit Mexican imports. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien has proposed reopening the energy clauses in the FTA, but trade experts say that it is unlikely that the United States will do so.

### Water

The controversy over water exports centers on the fact that the FTA and NAFTA do not contain specific provisions on bulk fresh water exports. It is therefore open to interpretation whether or not Canada could be forced to export fresh water from dams and lakes to the United States in times of shortage. U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor said last month that water is a "good" like any other covered in the trade pacts. But Canada's Trade Minister Roy MacLaren pointed that NAFTA only governs shipments of bottled water, and Kantor then argued,

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totals are minuscule in comparison with the total U.S. workforce of 115 million. But both supporters and critics of NAFTA agree that they will likely make more dramatic shifts.

Even the most enthusiastic supporters of NAFTA concede that low-skilled assembly jobs in manufacturing are certain to shift south to Mexico—or beyond—from the United States and Canada. The day after the House passed NAFTA, Stephen Bell, managing director of the Washington office of the investment dealer Robinson-Henry Inc., summed up the situation bluntly: "The ask are about the 10-year-old interworker with a high-school education who lives in Detroit or San Diego and goes to work for seven-and-a-half hours every day to insert ball bearings in the rear axle of a car? There is no future. It's already gone."

Bell and other NAFTA proponents agree that these job losses will be offset by new high-skilled, high-wage jobs in banking, telecommunications and other "knowledge-based" industries. But Bell, who served as chief of staff of the U.S. Senate last year, added that many of the displaced workers will be impossible to retrain, and that they will likely end up on social assistance. "You may have to give them a stipend to live on, seven-eight per cent of the population simply find themselves unable to compete in this new world."

In the months ahead before the NAFTA vote in the House this week, opponents of the deal deplored that type of hardheaded assessment. Michigan Governor George, whose Detroit depends on the auto industry, brought tears to the eyes of some listeners in the Senate as he lamented the loss of assembly line jobs. "The work of America is still done by people who pick a bolt, punch a clock and pour their heart and soul into every production," he said. "We can't afford to lose that belief."

But despite their passionate pleas, none of the NAFTA opponents offered even the broadest outline of an alternative deal. All of them called for "better NAFTA," and that a more than just "supermarket agreements" allowing international corporations to siphon capital into Mexico. They argued that trade deals must also address social and political issues, and that negotiations should not be conducted behind closed doors by trade specialists. But even reasonable conservatives in these concerns questioned whether a more active Congress would really help to produce such an agreement. Jeff Pines, president of the Economic Policy Institute, said that a more open process might yield better trade policy, but it also might

simply produce more protectionism. He added that simply killing NAFTA would only slow the migration of U.S. and Canadian assembly line workers' jobs to Mexico. "We have to have a trading strategy to enhance their ability to compete globally," Pines said.

That is what Clinton promises when he asked his coalition of supporters in NAFTA to back his "reemployment system." But few business leaders or leading Republicans expect that that will happen. William Kristol, a senior adviser to Republican vice president Dick Cheney and now a Washington political consultant, said that his party's backing for Clinton on NAFTA was likely a one-shot deal—a single case of following through on George Bush's initiatives. "The members' [Clinton] supported Stalin for a few years," Kristol said.

Even after the glowing tributes to Clinton's



son's spirit of bipartisanship following the NAFTA vote, most Republicans and leading corporate executives remain philosophically opposed to helping trade treaties to programs for displaced U.S. workers or for any campaign for political reform in Mexico or elsewhere. During last week's House debate, Nebraska Republican Fred Gandy condemned "the neo-conservative policies" of NAFTA opponents who wanted to use free agreement to force more political reforms in Mexico. "It's like trying a diabetic: no insulin until you get better," he said.

There certainly was no shortage of that kind of sour disposition on either side of last week's epic NAFTA debate. But at the end of the day, and after the vote, it took for Bill Clinton to permit, it is clear that politics will never be in short supply in any trade deal.

JOHN DAILY in Washington and  
HARRAN CHAGAZIAN in Ottawa

## A guarded greeting

Everyone in the Mexico City center was watching Clinton last week, as the U.S. House of Representatives voted on NAFTA. When victory was assured, the Americans in the bar cheered, but the Mexicans tried to make it as if they had just swallowed some medicine that might be good for them—but was otherwise hard to take. Even the downtown square surrounding the Monument to Independence, where Mexicans hold rallies to cheer national holidays, was conspicuously empty. And Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, NAFTA's biggest lobbyist, appeared apologetic following the vote.

"We should not expect immediate effects," said Salinas. "Gradual improvements are not justified."

The cautious response of Mexicans was understandable in the weeks leading up to the NAFTA vote. Mexico and its political system had been heavily criticized in the U.S. media. Their economy was also lambasted by foreign estimates that 30 per cent of Mexican businesses lack the ability to take advantage of the treaty's market openings. In fact, opposition presidential candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas Salazar has called for a renegotiation of NAFTA and a withdrawal if necessary. Such primary school teacher Luis Polanco, who echoed the concerns of many Mexicans: "There is still a lot to be done to avoid being taken over by the United States."

Still, the NAFTA vote was a critical political victory for Salinas. Although he himself cannot seek re-election for the presidency, a major policy defeat on close to the presidential elections in August, 1995, would have spelled disaster for his ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party. And in the wake of the NAFTA vote, both his party's re-election hopes and the Mexican economy received a boost when the country's stock market hit a record high. But even his allies remain cautious. "The response and action will be based on the economic situation," said Cárdenas Salazar, an adviser to Salinas. Indeed, it will be years before Mexicans know whether they should have celebrated, or mourned, in the square of the Monument to Independence.

TED BARBACK in Mexico City



## How NAFTA can create new jobs

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

**P**eter Nicholson, the 53-year-old Bank of Nova Scotia senior vice-president in charge of promoting Canada's fourth largest financial institution, with policy advice, has an unusual background for a banker. Born in Halifax, he earned a master's degree in physics at Dalhousie University, then qualified for a doctorate in operations research, a branch of applied mathematics that concentrates on efficiency optimization from Stanford University. Nicholson's first real working knowledge in finance, through computer sciences at the University of Minnesota. Then, after five years as a policy adviser to urban affairs minister Murray Dinwiddie in Ottawa, in 1978 he was elected as a Liberal to the Nova Scotia legislature and became the party's finance critic. He resigned two years later to help manage H. B. Nicholson & Sons, a large Atlantic fishing company, and in 1984 joined the Bank of Nova Scotia, where he quickly became the major source of "big action" input for chairman Rod Bache.

Nicholson wrote bank reports, whose writings and speeches read like impenetrable academic dissertations designed to baffle all but a handful of obscure fellow politicians. Nicholson talks and writes the Queen's proper English. The fact that his concerns are comprehensible makes his thoughts worthwhile. "It's crucial," he told me during a recent interview, "to view our economy as a global resource. Canadians have been far too parochial in their discourse over understanding and interpretation of events, not aware or at least not ready to acknowledge that most of our problems are faced by all in disadvantaged nations. There are, for example, 58 million people out of work in the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), with many European countries suffering unemployment rates as high as or higher than Canada's."

Viewing Canada in an international context allows Nicholson to analyze our situation free

***'For every activity we lose to Mexico, we're simply putting dollars into the pockets of people bound to be buying something'***

of the political truth that others so many ignore: "Our economic policy should be less preoccupied with short-term stabilization than with solid, fundamental, long-range expansion of economic activity," he contends. "That means adopting to accelerating global economic integration on one hand, and the shift of activity based on assets and energy to today's information economy on the other."

He makes the point that few goods are made in any one place any more, with manufacturing spread around many countries to maximize comparative advantage. Critics of the most value-added component of any tangible good now available know how Nicholson looks the North American Free Trade Agreement because he feels that while certain products will inevitably be attracted south of the Rio Grande, the comparative advantage of the human and capital resources involved will maintain many American and Canadian industrial plants. "The Mexicans," he says, "will do what they do best, and we'll continue to do what we do best. It's a very fine belief that for every activity we lose to Mexico or other developing country competition, we're simply putting dollars into the pockets of people bound to be buying some-

thing, and so it's up to us to make sure they buy what we can produce. We're extremely willing to provide many of the hard services. The major construction or infrastructure, telecommunications equipment, and software like financial services and designing health care infrastructures, that the developing regions will need."

Like most of his fellow bankers, Nicholson is convinced that the current restructuring isn't just a hiccup but a historic sea change comparable to the Industrial Revolution and the social transformation from farm to city and farm to factory. "It will take time for Canada to learn how to be efficient and effective in a globally integrated information economy," he insists on. "People tend to think the old economy will have a great deal of difficulty making the necessary adjustments, and that's where social policy has to focus."

He adds, "When most people think of the information economy, they visualize computer networks and the publicizebook that you read in the annual reports of the communications companies. But there's a real potential for new jobs in interactive television, for example, because there will be an incredible spectrum of new tasks required to market goods on the 300-channel universe. Many of these new occupations will be almost as elementary as the old assembly line, requiring not much more sophistication than basic pattern recognition."

The Bank of Nova Scotia vice-president believes that most new jobs will be created from sources that cannot yet be imagined, that the nature of profound economic transformation. The low-and-wage manufacturers at the beginning of this century could make methodically prove that the death of their industry would wreck the North American economy. Yet the automobile assembly lines that took their place multiplied the number of available jobs many times over—and workers for the first time could afford to buy the goods they produced.

Nicholson, who has good connections with Jean Chretien's inner circle, believes that one of the new government's top priorities should be to revisit the issue of social security perhaps by revisiting the idea of a guaranteed real wage, as recommended by the 1985 Macdonald Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada. He also feels strongly that the new Liberal administration needs to concentrate at least as much on helping provide a new technological infrastructure as on planning to build more highways, bridges and functional member. "Governments must move into the development of human capital, which is broader than what we call education," he argues. "Because it involves everything from affording better childhood culture habits to re-entry and human trade barriers between positions. It's essential to believe in statistics quite a bit, but I also think there still exists a constructive role for the public sector."

Nicholson's bottom line is that while Canada may be living dangerously in the age of global economic sea opportunities for outgrowth in the future.

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# Tinkering with Mother Nature

## A controversial report on reproductive technologies

She is 41 and has blocked fallopian tubes, a condition that normally makes it impossible for a woman to have a baby. By Desiree that the Calgary at her husband who requested surrogacy, and her husband are determined to have a child. During the past two years, the couple have spent at least \$25,000 for her to undergo an *in vitro* fertilization (IVF) at Calgary's Foothills Hospital. Last week, the woman completed her 25th cycle of treatment, which involves the use of drugs to stimulate the production of eggs. Once that was done, her doctor pricked the wall of her vagina and drew out the eggs. Laboratory incubation then allowed her husband's sperm to fertilize the eggs. After two days, up to three fertilized eggs, or pre-embryos, were inserted into the woman's uterus. By week's end, she was waiting to see if, at last, she was pregnant. "We're got our fingers crossed," she said.

Until less than two decades ago, women unable to have children had only two choices: remain childless or try to adopt. But now reproductive technologies ranging from *in vitro* and artificial insemination to more complex techniques are allowing hundreds of infertile Canadian families each year to have babies. But the innovations new techniques have raised troubling questions about medical women's increasing ability to tinker with biological processes. On Nov. 30, Ottawa will release a report by the Royal Commission on New Reproductive Technologies that studied the techniques' ethical, medical, legal, social and economic implications and will address the question of whether Canada society should set limits on a woman's ability to play God in the corner of her uterus.

The 138-page report, which makes 25 recommendations, is likely to urge the establishment of a government-backed central licensing

authority to oversee the work of fertility clinics and physicians who use the new technologies. As well, experts expect the report to suggest a ban or moratorium on some practices, such as commercial surrogacy, in which women are paid to give birth to babies created from the eggs of infertile mothers. The document is almost certain to generate controversy as did the commission itself, which took four years to complete its work at a projected cost of \$25.2 million—making it the second-most expensive royal commission in Canadian history.

The commission, under Vancouver geriatric and pediatrician Frances Baker, was also beset by internal friction, which in December 1991, left Deputy Minister Brian Mulroney's Conservative government to take the unusual step of firing four dissenting commissioners. Among them was Margaret McFey, the high-profile lawyer and wife of then-Conservative Affairs Minister Joe Clark. McFey says that the trouble stemmed from Baker's apparent belief that the

commission's task was simply to recommend how reproductive technologies should be managed. Other commissioners wanted to ask fundamental questions about the value of scientific development in itself, that, said Mr. Trent, "are challenging the very concept of what it means to be human." According to McFey, the dissenting commissioners were excluded from decision-making processes and denied access to information in the commission's computer file. Others insist that Baker and her colleagues were excluded from a first expression of views. "Everyone was pleased from the outset that they could express dissenting opinions in the final report," said Suzanne Scrimshaw, a Toronto-based commission member. She added that the four commissioners who were fired were "being left in control of their own destiny."

Now, a disparate array of interest groups, including feminists, disabled, Catholics, people opposed to abortion and other organizations, are poised to challenge the report of its recommendations. Some fall short of calling for strict controls on the use of technology that seems to promise flawless babies on demand and challenge traditional concepts of parenthood. "These issues," says Bernard Dennis, a professor of law who teaches at the University of Toronto's Centre for Bioethics, "may be very emotional."

Increasingly, scientists are using the new genetic and reproductive technologies to open up biological possibilities fraught with high-stakes ethical implications. Already, the new techniques make it possible for single women, lesbians and women in their 50s and 60s to have babies. Women in the United States and Italy have even given birth to their own grandchildren by carrying embryos born from their daughter's own ova. Last month, research sci-

entists in Washington revealed that they had split 14 identical human embryos to produce 48 identical copies, a clone of the originals. None of the human clones survived for more than ten days, but the experiment triggered widespread debate over the sanctity of such experiments—and opened up the prospect, among others, of women taking cloned human embryos to give birth to identical siblings years apart.

Since the first *in vitro* baby was born in England 15 years ago, the use of reproductive technology has spread rapidly. According to a study released by the Royal Commission in April, about 2,000 women were enrolled in IVF programs in Canada in 1990, resulting in 180 births, while 3,400 used artificial insemination in fertility clinics, leading to 395 births. The commission said that there was only one known case of scientific motherhood in Canada in 1991. But reports say that private clinics in several Canadian cities quietly arrange for surrogate mothers to bear other women's children. In its report, the commission is widely expected to call for legislation that would make it a crime for women to be paid for acting as surrogate mothers.

In other proposals are expected to include a recommendation that Ottawa and the provinces back the establishment of a national supervisory body modelled on Britain's two-year-old Human Fertilization and Embryology Authority, made up of doctors, scientists and government officials. Such a body could have responsibility for licensing fertility clinics, laying down operating rules and deciding what procedures could, or could not, be carried out. At present, Canadian clinics and physicians who use reproductive technology are governed informally by guidelines laid down by professional medical associations.

The commission will also likely propose the establishment of regional IVF centres with the treatment being covered by provincial medical insurance plans. Currently, only Ontario pays part of the cost and *in vitro* is considered. The report will also contain proposals in several hotly disputed areas including the growing medical use of fetal tissue in operations aimed at helping victims of Parkinson's disease and other neurological disorders, the use of surrogates or donated embryos for research purposes. In another controversial area, the commission is expected to propose that IVF and artificial insemination be made available to any woman who is medically and psychologically fit to have children, including single women and lesbians. Currently, clinics can refuse their own rules about whom they will help to have babies. Earlier this year, Edmonton's gay and lesbian community criticized Dr. Janet Scott, the director of the University of Alberta Hospital's infertility clinic after he refused to artificially inse-

A sampling of the many medical and laboratory techniques in the rapidly growing field of reproductive technology

## TERMS OF CONCEPTION

**Ovulation induction and enhancement:** In the most common treatment for infertility, drugs are used to induce ovulation and stimulate the production of an egg from every cycle of the body of an infertile woman to maximize the chance of conception.

**Artificial insemination:** A doctor uses a syringe or catheter cap to insert sperm from a woman's husband or other donor into the vagina. Under Canadian guidelines, donor sperm must be frozen and tested for genetic risks and infectious diseases, including HIV. It is possible for women to inseminate themselves.

**In vitro fertilization (IVF):** To create pregnancy, doctors take eggs from a woman's ovaries and fertilize them in a laboratory with sperm from the husband or another man. After two days, the fertilized egg or zygote (pre-embryo) is placed in the woman's uterus. Some embryos can be frozen for future implantation. If a woman has no ovaries, the same procedure can be carried out using donated eggs.

**Gamete intra-fallopian transfer:** An IVF variant, an egg is retrieved from a woman's ovary and placed in her fallopian tubes along with sperm so that fertilization can occur. The method was devised to overcome obstructions, including religious concerns, to fertilization taking place outside the body. As well, some scientists believe that fertilization occurs from reality in the fallopian tubes.

**Zygote intra-fallopian transfer:** Another IVF variant, in which an embryo is placed directly into a woman's fallopian tube. Preferred by some people because the process moves sperm more closely.

**Surrogacy:** Eggs from one woman are fertilized in a laboratory. The resulting embryo is then transferred to the uterus of a surrogate mother, who carries and bears the child. When a woman is infertile, her partner's sperm can be used to inseminate a surrogate mother when they bear the child. There are few laws in Canada governing surrogacy, and few practices have yet been tested in Canadian courts.

with one member of a lesbian couple, Scott Scott. "It's not against biology, but I think a child should be brought up by a man and a woman."

The report is certain to attract heavy fire if it appears or intensifies lightly over critics' concerns. Many feminists argue that the technology reduces women to the status of surrogate child-bearers. They also question whether infertility should be considered as a disease—and whether millions of dollars should be spent on helping some women to have children.

"There are so many other things we could be doing," says Guyreer Bessie, a Montreal writer and gay-maker who is a member of the Toronto-based National Action Committee on the Status of Women. "We could be providing more day care so that women could have babies earlier and leading into why so many women are infertile and why so many men have low sperm counts."

Other critics worry that the growing role of reproductive technology and, in particular, the use of genetic testing to identify flawed fetuses, which are often aborted, will have a dehumanizing effect on society. "What kind of society is it that wants on all to be blindfolded, deafened and perverted?" asks Jean Morley, a Vancouver-based member of the DisAbled Women's Network of Canada.

In the end, the report is almost certain to disappoint some critics of reproductive technology, arguing that the most popular techniques available make more rigorous supervision. And it could be some time before Marie Milner, Jean Chénier's new Liberal government's face or proxy to act on some of the committee's proposals. In the meantime, the would-be mother-in-Chicago—waiting to find out whether it will be finally made her permanent—was unimpressed by lawyer arguments against such techniques. "Some feminists," she said, "claim that reproductive technology makes women and men equal. I don't feel like a partner yet. I feel fortunate that I live in a society where the medical profession may be able to make it possible for me to have a baby."

JAMES NICHOLS

## A MIRACLE NAMED ADAM



Rogers and son: risks well worth taking

scenario of a typical day, right? Well, yes and no. Adam is a healthy, normal boy, all right, yet he is also a "test-tube baby." My very existence is the result of an *in vitro* fertilization technique, in which eggs are retrieved from the ovaries, placed in a glass dish, fertilized and returned to the womb to continue the natural course of pregnancy.

Like an estimated 250,000 Canadians, I am infertile. In my early 20s, an undetected infection scarred my fallopian tubes, the delicate, minute passageways through which the fertilized egg must migrate to reach the uterus. When my husband and I decided to have children, we were in our early 30s. After two years of trying to conceive using every process and outrageous measure—from elaborate temperature charts to synthetic herbs—we underwent a seemingly endless round of probing and embarrassing investigations. Blood was tested, sperm were counted, hormones were measured. Then came the invasive procedures, in which my reproductive organs were probed, basted and inspected. The diagnosis was devastating: I was unable to have children without serious medical, albeit

experimental, intervention. We were last listed for the IV unit at Toronto General Hospital, which added another three years to my biological clock. By the time I entered the program, I was already 36. At that age, the doctors said, the chances for conceiving had been reduced to a sliver: three to five per cent.

The first round of treatment was a horror story. Full of wild anticipation and an acute sense of hope, my husband and I began dreaming about our child-to-be. After so many years of yearning and waiting, we were so close to the real possibility of making a baby. Nothing deterred me: not the daily 5 a.m. blood tests, not the daily hormone pills and injections, not the ultrasounds, not the endless waiting. Day by day, the ultrasounds showed my overstimulated ovaries bulging with at least a dozen follicles, the sacs potentially containing the eggs. I felt like a pumped-up reproduction machine. When the day came for retrieving the eggs, the head nurse coolly asked to cancel the procedure—without any advance warning. According to the hormone levels ascertained in my blood tests, she explained, there weren't enough eggs to offer a good chance for a successful fertilization. The unexpected news drove me into a deep state of depression, which by the morning, artificial hormones still coursing through my body. No medical personnel had said anything about possible cancellation, nor did anyone offer counselling to help deal with the ensuing crisis. It took at least three months before I could extricate myself from that debilitating mental state.

Six months later, we tried again. The day of the procedure was most harrowing. Normally, I am terrified of hospitals. But something magical occurred in the operating room: I was somehow imbued with an otherworldly sense of calm. I also intuitively knew that we would become parents. Why we succeeded where so many fail is a mystery. And there lies the dilemma.

Although my husband and I are ardently grateful to have Adam, we know that the medical magic might not have worked. Clearly, reproductive technologies are in their infancy and there must be vast improvements to make the procedure more humane and less costly—physically, emotionally and financially. The doctors who performed the procedure used me to further their knowledge. And I allowed that to happen only after thoroughly researching the pros and cons of IVF. I don't regret my decision for a second, even if it turns out that I and/or my son may eventually suffer from the drugs or the interventions, which is entirely possible given the lack of knowledge of the long-term effects. We are medical pioneers, my son and I, and like all pioneers we show the way for future generations to benefit from our experiences. Although that may sound a bit egotistical, from my vantage point, watching Adam sleep beneath his Crash Dummy quilt, the risk was very well worth it.

June Rogers is a Toronto freelance writer.

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## SPORTS

# Touchdowns and ten-gallon hats



The Stampedes battle the Eskimos: good news, bad news

## Calgary hosts a rousing Grey Cup hoedown

to stay alive, and attendance fell to all three of the league's Ontario clubs. The CFL's overall financial performance improved to the point where it was able to pay all 18 franchises debt, and attendance increased in Calgary, Edmonton, Regina and Vancouver. "We are certainly not out of the woods," Smith said, "but we are light years ahead of where we were a year ago."

Still, there were troubles. The Hamilton Tiger-Cats required audience credit here-

Calgary, which dominated the West, the usual line pass into the divisional final.

Often, Grey Cup week has provided a home for what was the league. But from under the shadow of the seemingly endless baseball season and before the hockey season begins to make the CFL events in brief but undistracted national attention. It makes the most of it. Grey Cup games have recently been closely fought and high-scoring battles. And if any Canadian city can celebrate the country's renaissance with three-down football, it is Calgary, whose fans are emboldened with rousing the CFL championship game into a national celebration. The transformation began in 1948 when, in anticipation of their team's first-ever Cup appearance, Calgarians arrived in Toronto several days before the game and paraded the town Stampeder red in cow boy boots and top-gallon hats. They stomped their way north through the streets—and even into the lobby of the Royal York Hotel—and serving pastrami breakfast from chuck wagons at Hamilton's city hall. From there on, writer-historian Gordon Walker, the Grey Cup game became Grey Cup week.

The league, which since 1968 had shifted most Cup games between the distant stadiums of Vancouver and Toronto, was retrained by Winnipeg's successful Cup week in 1991 that snow and cold weather do not dampen CFL fan spirit. Smith admits

that the weather among other unpredictable happenings has played a major role in the future of the championship. He should know: he played for the Montreal Alouettes in the last Cup game in Calgary, in 1975. It was a low-scoring contest (Edmonton won 9-6), but it still counts as a conversation among stampede CFL fans. It was bitterly cold that day—39 below zero with a stiff wind—blowing through the game, a naked woman straggled across the field. "It was cold enough with clothes on," Smith recalled with a laugh. "I don't know how she felt, but I was there for days." This year's event will be hard-pressed to match that one.

JAMES EWYON with JOHN WORME in Calgary

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Come now into the cell with me and  
stay here and feel if you can and if you  
will find that whatever time it was, for  
however long, for how a room looking  
in this cell. Come, come in.

—Excerpt from *East Coastling*  
by Brian Keenan

**L**ebanon Once a land of peace-  
able beauty, with scented hills and a glorious  
Mediterranean coast line, it slowly deteriorated  
into a hot nest of competing fac-  
tions—Shiite Muslims, Christians and Druses—repeatedly  
provoked by outside powers and infla-  
mated by 1984 after nearly a decade  
of inter-communal bloodshed, Israeli  
occupation and civil war, the first  
decades of hostages began to disappear  
all the streets of Beirut, none never to  
be seen or heard from again. Among  
these eventually taken were American  
Terry Anderson, chief Middle East  
correspondent for The Associated  
Press, Irish nationalist Brian Keenan,  
who taught English at the American  
University in Beirut, and British An-  
glican Church canon Terry Waite,  
who was captured in the Lebanon  
capital as he attempted to negotiate  
the release of the other captives.

Since winning freedom (Keenan in  
1980, the others in 1985) all three  
have written harrowing accounts of  
their imprisonment. The hostages de-  
scribed often a hellish experience—a  
place that at best resembled purgatory  
and at worst mirrored the hell  
that Lebanon had become. By no  
means light reading, their stories are  
as disturbing as they are highly ac-  
curate. But the books also contain a remarkable and subtle  
transformation. Despite the hostages' grueling treatment at watching  
days in captivity turn into years—and the unspeakable physical and  
psychological abuse that each had to endure—what emerges, in their  
memories is a testament to the resilience of the soul. "In the most inhu-  
man of circumstances men grow and deepen in humanity," Keenan  
writes. "In the face of death but not because of it, they explode with  
generosity, life, conquering despair and human nature."

More often than not, the captives were blindfolded. The three—who were  
unopposed together only briefly—shared their 632y quarters with  
cockroaches, biting insects and men, sometimes with little more than  
a mattress on the floor. Repeatedly bound like mummies in suffocating  
padding tape, they were abused beyond comprehension: under  
ground cells and sporadically subjected to interrogations and sexual abuse.  
They were all held by Islamic Jihad (Holy War), a militant Shiite Is-  
lamist group under the command of Hezbollah, the Iranian-  
backed Party of God. Their captors hoped to use them to bargain for  
the release of the 500 captured Kuwaiti 77—members of an allied cell  
called Al Quds in the Gulf. Impressed in Beirut for a series of  
bombings in 1983, including attacks on the U.S. and French em-  
bassies in the Persian Gulf state.

*East Coastling* (Crossing, 299 pp., \$29.95). Anderson, who was  
released in West Beirut on March 16, 1985, while driving home from a



## Your spirit can never be chained

Three Beirut hostages recall their seasons in hell

lebanon prison, brings the promise of a somewhat parallel to his  
character of almost seven years in captivity. He not only grounds his  
background into "personally difficult and complicated" Lebanese  
power politics, but also details his 2,653-day ordeal in a style that is re-  
trospective but never self-indulgent. Interspersed with Anderson's  
narrative are moving chapters written by his Lebanese wife,  
Madeline Bazzi. "Young men who were raised in destruction and ru-  
in, who have seen death done for a loaf of bread at their doorstep  
have no mercy for a crying woman," she writes. "I would make no  
claim to depression that it almost annihilated my spirit." When Anderson  
was kidnapped, Bazzi was six months pregnant—the couple's daughter  
Teri, Bazzi is now 6.

The Keenan experience relates how he and his changing group of cell  
mates struggled to help one another escape. Anderson created a draft  
out from discarded processed-leaves toilet and Marmite and Scrib-  
ble papers from scraps of paper. He and the fellow Americans with  
whom he spent the most time—Tom Sutherland, dean of agriculture  
at the American University of Beirut—passed many days negotiating  
regular French verbs.

But the atmosphere was often tense. "This place is like living in a  
hall of mirrors," Anderson writes. "There's no hiding from the others,  
and their's unassuming but reflective they give you an appeal." There  
was frequent kicking, Sutherland and another captive even argued

about whether a fax was showing air into  
the cell or putting it out. Still, Anderson, a  
wily, 44-year-old former inmate, told  
Maclean that he hopes his account of the  
squalor does not overshadow the deep  
brotherhood that developed between cell mates.  
"It should not surprise anybody," he said,  
"that when you lack a touch of meat in a  
meal 24 hours a day, they get into fights."

What is surprising is that Anderson says  
he now harbors no bitterness towards either  
his captors or U.S. officials whose decisions  
may have prolonged his captivity. Chief  
among them were President Ronald Reagan  
and his aides, including former U.S. Consul  
in Beirut, who orchestrated the bungled  
last-minute scheme in which the U.S. gov-  
ernment, while moving never to negotiate  
with terrorists, traded arms with him in an  
attempt to spring the hostages. While news of  
the scandal and the subsequent threat of  
violence at the Beirut airport courts  
which bridge "one man in the Reagan admin-

istration would be  
extra here the word  
hostage," Anderson  
writes. And although  
While House officials,  
concerned with their  
political survival, put  
the hostages on the  
back burner, Ander-  
son does not cast blame. "That is the way polit-  
ics work," he told Maclean. "You might as well  
be mad as a dog for getting on the carpet."  
Another victim of U.S. foreign policy was An-  
glican church canon Terry Waite, who first en-  
tered in the hostage after Father Persephian  
minister Benjamin Weir disappeared on May 11  
1984. Waite was praised for helping to negotiate  
the release of three Americans—War in Sep-  
tember, 1985. Keenan Catholic priest Lawrence  
Jones and British hospital director David Jacobs  
was the following year. But in June of 1984, An-  
derson noted that Waite was used as "a front  
man by North, set up to take credit for the re-  
lease" and direct attention from the real res-  
cue to his defeat: the secret deal was be-  
tween Washington and Tehran. In *Taken on  
Tear* (Doubleday, 290 pages, \$29.95), Waite re-  
flects again that he was "caught between the  
ambitions of groups in America and Islam-  
ism." But he gives no indication as the book that  
he was aware at the time of the secret-  
hostage deal.

In an interview with Maclean's, the towering,  
6-foot, 160-lb. Waite, 54, said that while he did  
share some information with North, he had the  
best interests of the hostages at heart. And he denied that he was car-  
rying a tracking device or was in American pay, as some have sug-  
gested. "I met with Oliver North because Oliver North was the person  
appointed by the American administration to deal with hostages," he  
said. "Just because you meet with people is not to say that you are in  
contact with them."

That aside, Waite's association with the discredited Reagan only  
in the eyes of the Islamic militants compromised his neutrality. Leading  
to his capture during his fifth and final mission to Beirut in January,  
1987. At the time, Waite had been given assurances from administration  
that he would be allowed to visit Anderson and Sutherland, who,  
according to their captors, were depressed and ill. And despite the ab-

sence risk, he later decided to meet with the kidnappers. "I actually  
had a chance to walk away," he said. "But I told myself that if I believe  
in anything then I had to carry through."

While Anderson Waite spent the last three years of his 1,785 days  
of captivity—about five years—in solitary confinement. In order to keep  
his sanity, he converted his entire life in a minute detail in his head. In-  
teresting the book on their encounters. Waite raises his childhood,  
his days in the Grenadier Guards and the Anglican Church Army, his  
first appointment in Africa as a church adviser, and his work in Lambeth  
Palace, in an interview with Robert Ransley, Archbishop of Canterbury. At times,  
the detail goes on and on, such as when he reflects the history of  
the church in Uganda, that Waite is at his best when he has dry sense of  
humor shines through in it. He does and while struggling to sort  
out his conflicting emotions. "Suffering need not destroy," he con-  
cludes. "It can give you a new vision."

The most powerful of the three books is Brian Keenan's *East  
Coastling* (William 300 pages, \$29.95). The 40-year-old Keenan, a priest  
who holds both Irish and Irish citizenship, was kidnapped in Beirut  
on April 11, 1984, while on his way to give a morning lecture at the  
American University, and experienced for 1,687 days—2½ years, the  
longest the reader may find a more arduous journey from the possibility of  
imprisonment, complete with barbarism and brutality by solitary confine-  
ment in conditions of remarkable worst place. The most challenging  
of the three books is also the most dramatic. Keenan's story is often  
overwhelmingly bleak, full of streams-of-consciousness  
musings that capture both ac-  
tion and depression—there is an  
incredible payoff. Keenan, as  
the first of the three books, his  
mind was eventually moved in  
to a cell with Brian John Mc-  
Carthy, a television commen-  
tator. A deep trust and love  
developed between the two  
men, who ultimately saved  
each other from complete  
disintegration.

Despite appalling conditions  
and savage beatings, Keenan  
and McCarthy maintained  
a twisted sense of humor  
throughout their ordeal. They  
referred to it as a game of guards  
in the Brothers Karamazov.  
They turned outrageous Anglo-  
Irish abuse at each other until  
they dissolved in laughter.  
They even acted out imaginary  
characters. "With these charac-  
ters we entertained ourselves  
for many hours," Keenan writes  
in one of the book's most  
poignant passages. "Through  
them we brought other people  
into the cell to be with us, to  
talk to us or to make us laugh  
in the laughter we discovered  
something of what life really is."

They were convinced that if there was  
a God that God was above all else a comedian. In human, some-  
times hysterical, sometimes childish, often childish, life was re-  
turned to us.  
Keenan's book is a masterpiece—and not subtle. As deeply distur-  
bing as it is agonizingly funny, it provides incredible insight into what  
it is like to lose one's freedom, to live in a prison, to see a society  
that the human mind can travel into these dark regions and return  
unhindered but intact. Keenan writes, "I never in a minute that that  
can ever convey."



Waite, Anderson with Keenan and daughter Sabine  
after his release (opposite) residence of the soul



# The Not So Minivan

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## BOOKS

### Goon over Miami

*A crime king delivers the hot goods again*

FRONTO

By Elmore Leonard  
(Doubleday, 260 pages, \$26.95)

So this is the deal. There's this guy from Detroit, see, who writes thrillers for a living. *Pulpster*. *Philly*. *Stork*. *Kill*. *Don't*—that's just a few. And for someone who writes crime novels, a lot of good things have already been said about this guy. Elmore Leonard. But the thing is, after 40 years in the business and a decade or two on the big lists of American crime fiction, he's still on top of the game.

In *Preach*, 66-year-old Leonard's 31st novel, he continues to use the streetwise style that has become his signature. The story begins in Miami, among the sleazeballs and cops of the city's thriving gambling community. A gang leader's Hurry Arno discovers that the feds are



Leonard, moving from the Mafia—in Italy

setting him up for a falling out with his syndicate boss, Jimmy Capote. After a head-on crash for Capote's corner calling—with a second-of-their shot—Arno chases his opponent, U.S. deputy marshal Raylan Givens, a Kentucky cowboy who wears three-pointed hats and a suit. There—doing probably the dumbest thing anybody running from the Mafia could do—he fires to Italy. Givens, out to live down his reputation for letting the big ones get away, gives chase, and as his brother comes Tommy (the Big Bucks, Capote's head-on-with-the-boss killer).

In *Preach*, there is no doubt about who the bad guys are—they wear cheap suits and leather jackets—while the one good guy Givens sports a Stetson. Under Leonard's sure hand, that simple formula is never disappointing. He has a flawless ear for dialogue, capturing the nuances of the 24's Italian-inflected English, and the deputy's Bible Belt politeness. And Leonard maintains a remarkably democratic of vision—no character's motivations or mantras are too small for his attention, even if on the spectrum of sophistication they fall somewhere between low-class and no-class.

The result is a fast-paced yet subtly affecting book, one that manages to be both thrilling and emotionally truthful. As with his characters, there is more to Leonard's writing than meets the eye. And despite the title, *Preach* deserves to be listened over.

JOE CHIDLEY

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# "We have to talk openly about drinking, especially underage drinking."

Dr. Robert Pomeroy, Professor Psychology, McGill University



**C**oncerned about young people and the way they encounter drinking today, Molson got some expert advice

Advice from experts like Dr. Robert Pomeroy, an authority in public health promotion, research organizations like TIRF, the Traffic Injury Research Foundation, and volunteers in health promotion, family counselling services and youth organizations.

They told us how the same questions keep coming up around drinking in most families. And how good it is when families talk about drinking. Not just when there are problems but early and frequently over the years.

That's why we produced a video that would help

families get started talking about drinking. It's called *Working It Out*, it's a 20-minute VHS videocassette and it's free.

As well, there's a companion Parents Guide to help get the most out of the video and the discussions.

If you would like to view *Working It Out* and think about sharing it with your family, call Molson at 1-800-565-8800 for a free copy.

*Working It Out* is another example of Molson's commitment to leadership in encouraging the responsible use of alcohol.

**Take Care.**  
MOLSON

Call Molson toll free at **1-800-565-8800** for a free copy of *Working It Out*

## FOR THE RECORD

# Rhythm 'n' rebirth

*Two bands take on vibrant new life*

**PALE SUN CRESCENT MOON**  
*Cowboy Junkies*  
(JMG)

Formerly addicted to a hypnotic, almost mindfully slow brand of country blues that at least one critic actually compared to opium, Toronto's Cowboy Junkies are recovering nicely. Last year, the band emerged from the melancholic, aftermidnight haze that had sullied its first three albums and released black-eyed soul—a lighter, louder, more upward-looking collection showcasing Michael Timmins' growing mastery as a songwriter. With the newly released *Pale Sun Crescent Moon*, it is sister Margie Turner's turn to shine. On such tunes as *The Post and Road to Ephesus*, both written and recorded by other artists, Margie is looser and freer vocally than ever before. And on two of Michael's best compositions, the sinister *Hunted* and the edgy *Floorboard*

*Bliss*—songs about women confronted by male predators—she is positively transformed, singing soul on the former and talking tough on the latter. With Margie's wider range and deepening confidence, the Cowboy Junkies are injecting new life into their distinctive pop sound.

**JEREMO**  
*The Band*  
(JMG)

It is usually best to avoid releases of this sort, like high-school romances, they seem destined to disappoint. But *Jeremo*, the first new studio album in five years from The Band, is cause for celebration. Produced with John Seaw, a longtime Band associate, the album's 12 songs could stand easily



*Cowboy Junkies: wider range, confidence*

standside any of the group's best work. The new seven-piece outfit, featuring original members Levon Helm, Rick Danko and Garth Hudson, plays with authority on Bob Dylan's *Blow Where McVie* and Bruce Springsteen's *Adolescent City*. And a others convincing renditions of recent blues chestnuts. But the best numbers are *Bliss*, *The Gates of Jericho*, a country-tinged tale of a Kentucky mining disaster, and Toronto guitarist Colin Linden's *Remedy*, a smoking rhythm and blues tune. Sounding eerily like a ghost from the past, *Jeremo* is irrefutable proof that The Band lives on.

NICHOLAS RENNINGS

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## A nanny, a ninny and a kidnapper

MAES DOUBTFIRE  
Directed by Chris Columbus

One role is never long enough to contain Robin Williams in *Mrs. Doubtfire*, however, the hardest working individual personality in show business has room to stretch. As Daniel, an actor who records his e-mails for cartoons, the comic grows behind *Daniel's* goatee in an elf haircut. But that is just the wardrobe end. Daniel's wife, Marianne (Sally Field), is forced from and into custody at his three children. To gain access to them, he disguises himself as an elderly Scottish nanny named Mrs. Doubtfire, and goes to work for his mercurial ex-wife.

The movie is highly reminiscent of *Tootsie* (1982), in which Dustin Hoffman's character masquerades as a woman to get a part in a TV soap opera. In both films the impostor turns into a kindly mother figure for an underachieving woman, setting the stage for a climactic revelation. *Tootsie* is a better movie, with a more sophisticated, adult wit. And, yes, *Twister* returns to the theme of a woman posing as a man, but for adults, not children, and for comedy, not romance. **A—**

And Williams turns it in Thoreau's old castanets. Unlike Hoffman's character, who merely hid in grief for a woman, Daniel has to console his wife and kids—will anyone that Williams makes outrageously credible. As his entire woman sole, grown-up, Sally Field is a servicable kid even if half her lines get lost in the laughter generated by her co-star. The humor is buffered by liberal humanism about non-nuclear families—clearly designed to soothe children of divorced parents. But under the elbow's direction of Chris Columbus (*When Harry*), broad comedy prevails. Mrs. Doubtfire looks like a waste of \$60.

*Directed by Clint Eastwood*

Clint Eastwood has chased a lot of bad guys in his time, either as a cowboy or a cop. But

during the past two years, as a cocky gun slinger in *Defiance* and a Secret Service agent whenever his way through *The Fall of Fire*. Eastwood has deconstructed his on-screen persona with a vengeance. With *A Perfect World*, the 73rd feature that he has directed, he plays yet another lawman engaged in a chase—but the roles are turned. While Eastwood casts himself in an extended cameo, the starring role belongs

seems in no hurry to get away. Red (Eastwood), the guy who passes him in an American trailer (with an avaricious criminalist played by Louis Lortz) seems in no hurry to catch him. As James the dreamer is studied, when clutch terminates a black line by his cruelty comes out of nowhere. But at thought, *A Violent World* may be an imperfect movie: its off-balance vision of America—as a father son race through Paradise Lost—is

—a deeply compelling

## Directed by Paul Shapiro

It is 1964. The Beatles are swarming North America. And the towners are a-changin', even on a desolate island off the coast of British Columbia. That is the setting for *The Love Letter*, a disjointed piece of camp whimsy that is nominated for 11 Canadian Genre awards. R. H. Thomson stars as that studly school principal making time in a doll marriage. He seduces long-suffering wife, Dana (Shirley McLeish), has two daughters: Clea (Tara Frederick) a bored teen who is dying and Zoe (Aileen McLean) a pre-ado who dabbles in

Hal is poised for a well-life crisis. The sun-burnt is a witty new teacher from Quebec named Anne-Marie (Michelle Barbara Pellmar), a walking '80s cliché who wears a miniskirt, drives a VW van and plugs her guitar in class. As Hal mumbles auto bed with her, his leap from Puritana to profanity makes little sense, even within the heightened reality of a table that has magic spells whipping up the winds.

Loosely shot by director Paul Shapiro, the movie has its charms. But the story runs aground, salvaging a bitweisen victory for family values and making a point out of the Other Woman. With its canned music routine and candy-colored nostalgia, *The Laramie Project* is bit on presentation and short on substance.

FRANK D. JONESCO



Canine West, Leather is father and runs through *Paradise Lost*

to Kevin Costner, as a bad guy who is not really so bad. "I am a good man," he says. "I am the worst father—just a little apart." Costner's performance, the most intriguing of his career, adds some welcome verisimilitude to the opaque warrior that has become his trademark. And the film, a glorified tragedy of lost innocence, has a haunting quality.

A road movie that sprawls across rural Texas, *A Perfect World* is set in 1963, just weeks before President John F. Kennedy's assassination. Costner plays Blitch, an escaped convict who befriends a young boy named Phillip (J. T. Lawford) and heads for the back roads in stolen cars with the Texas Rangers on his tail. Phillip, the fatherless son of a strict mother, turns into a willing hostage. And Blitch serves as a surrogate dad, offering to fill the gaps in the boy's education. Halliwell estimates, cartoonishly and with a few errors.

to see the Orioles, and Zoe (Alicia McLaren) a mischievous 10-year-old who dabbles in witchcraft.

# Bodies with soul

Toronto Dance Theatre marks 25 years of artistry

For a quarter century, Toronto Dance Theatre (TDT) has provoked and inspired Canadian dancers. The company's prime ballerina, Karen Ryan, says that closest to TDT made her use muscles "I hadn't even discovered before" and helped her "get in touch with this really powerful sense of physical being." Robert Denoncourt and Danny Grossman were members of TDT before forming their own, internationally renowned troupes. Although it was not the first modern company in the country, Toronto Dance Theatre has been the most ambitious and successful. And now, despite the recessionary squeeze that is affecting TDT along with most of other performing arts organizations, the company is celebrating its 25th anniversary with a flourish. A schedule run of the 475-seat Jervis Theatre, New York City's leading modern dance venue, sold out six weeks before the Nov. 30 opening—testament to TDT's reputation for excellence and a bold, distinctive style. "Toronto Dance Theatre has always stuck to its path," says Vancouver dance historian critic Mac Wyman. "They've kept their vision

that is essentially humanistic and expressive."

Early in November, the company showed the full range of that vision at a 25th-anniversary gala at Toronto's Premier Dance Theatre. Among the celebrants were the three founders: Claudette David Earle, 54, and Patricia Beatty, 57, and American Peter Rudas, 50. All three studied in New York City in the 1960s with such modern-dance luminaries as Martha Graham and Jose Limon. In 1969, they formed a Toronto company that rejected classical ballet's fairy-tale plots and ethereal grace and embraced Graham's view of dance as a vehicle to stir the soul through expressive, grounded rooted movement.

The three began creating works in which the physical effort is a metaphor for the emotional, intellectual and epic journey of humanity. "They weren't just kids taking the waters," says TDT alumna Peggy Baker, now out of Canada's most respected modern-dance teachers' and solo performers. "They were fully formed artists and had an immediate impact."

TDT and its school soon became a rallying point for dancers and dancers seeking

Rose (left), Caroline McLaurin held, attractive

refuge from the ball-and-toss dance idiom of classical ballet. "For those of us who only knew dance as ballet, it was a revelation," says Ryan, recalling TDT's early performances when she was a student at Toronto's National Ballet School. "The movement was so organic, so rooted in real human feelings."

In the 1970s, the company helped trigger a modern-dance explosion across Canada. By the 1980s, however, it began to acquire a reputation as old-fash- ioned. While modern dance went in various new directions, making free contact with popular to national forms, TDT remained loyal to its Martha Graham roots. And it was saddled with financial problems after spending \$12.2 million to buy and renovate historic St. Basil's Church in Toronto's fashionable Cabbagetown. Its co-founders were, as Earle concedes, "burned out."

So they stepped back and, in 1983, called in Nancy Pearl, a Canadian dancer retiring from a career with some top American companies. Pearl was new to the scene and recognized, in large part by learning the self-teaching, subtly emotional choreography of dancer Christopher House, a company member since 1979. Within two years of Pearl's arrival, the 1987 TDT dance critic Anita Kewland hailed TDT as "a company reborn." However, the three co-founders were not ready to withdraw completely, and in 1987 Earle took over as artistic director. Now Earle is ready to pass the torch on to a new generation. Next September, 58 years old, she will be the associate director, in scheduled to assume leadership.

The artistic director-designate will inherit a reinvigorated but debt-plagued company. Like most performing arts organizations, TDT has been hit hard by the recession and now has an accumulated debt of \$240,000, against an operating budget of about \$1 million. This anniversary season, the 14 dancers have only 31 work contracts, down from 43 four years ago. House, a prolific creator who has also choreographed for the National Ballet and Montreal's Les Grands Ballets Canadiens, does not plan any radical changes. He will focus on creating new works, he says, but also intends to recognize such rising choreographers as the ranks in Bill Coleman. "Through all 25 years TDT has evolved tremendously," says House. "But the belief in the expressive power of movement will remain."

MICHAEL COVATY

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